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9 June 1983

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

No. 2766

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WORLDWIDE OBSERVANCE OF ARMENIAN GENOCIDE OF 1915

Paris LE MONDE in French 26 Apr 83 p 48

[Text] Tens of thousands of Armenians around the world, and particularly in France, Iran, Greece and Lebanon, on Sunday 24 April observed the 68th anniversary of the 1915 genocide in which 1.5 million Armenians were massacred by the Turks. In Paris, two separate marches, each composed of about a thousand people, paraded in early evening and dispersed peacefully near the Turkish consulate. The first group was organized by appeal of the Dashnag Party (social democratic, and the majority party in the French Armenian community), and the second was composed of members of the Armenian National movement, which is closely associated with the Armenian Secret Army for Liberation of Armenia (ASALA, extreme left). The 1915 massacre was also commemorated in Marseilles, in the presence of Jean-Victor Cordonnier, first deputy to the city mayor, and Michel Pezet, chairman (Socialist Party) of the regional council of Provence-Cote d'Azur.

In Teheran, almost 20,000 Armenians, accompanied by a considerable police force, moved through the city's streets shouting "Down with the Turkish Government." In 1982, this demonstration had been prohibited because of incidents that had occurred the previous year in the vicinity of the Turkish Embassy.

In Athens, several hundred Armenians placed a wreath of flowers on the "Armenian Genocide Monument" that was erected 3 years ago, and proceeded to the front of the Turkish Embassy. A representative of the Armenian National Committee of Greece praised "France's positive stand" on the Armenian issue, concluding that this stand was taken "in spite of Turkish pressures," and adding that it "encourages Armenians in their struggle to regain their country."

President of the Cyprus Republic Spyros Kyprianou, who met in Paris on Sunday with UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, responded to an interviewer on the subject of the recent Turkish accusation that ASALA elements are being secretly trained in Cyprus. The Cyprus Government has already denied the accusation. A spokesman for the UN Peace Force in Cyprus also said on Saturday that the investigation carried out in the area "had produced absolutely no proof" of Armenian terrorist activity on the island.

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ALGERIA

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN EXTREME SOUTH REVIEWED

Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in French No 1001, 29 Apr-5 May 83 pp 6-9

[Article by Kamal Zemouri]

[Text] There are tendencies and inclinations imposed by imperialism and colonialism, in the most savage fashion, which result in the migration of men in the very direction characteristic of the skimming off of the natural resources of the country. It is thus that the north symbolizes opulence, comfort, respect for the rights of man, while the south is identified with poverty seen as inevitable and thus irreversible. Changing this equation based on a proportional reversal of a movement which has long since become traditional represents the measure of economic success for the countries faced with this harsh reality.

In Algeria, the policy of regional balance launched in 1966 in a part of the southern portion of the country, specifically Ouargla, included within its concerns, in addition to regional development, a refusal to allow a northern Algeria to develop to the detriment of a southern Algeria, by giving the north and the south equal economic, social and cultural weight. Moreover, our country is fully aware that its African commitment lies to the south. Algeria has never turned its back on the continent to which it belongs.

The inspection and working visit of President Chadli Bendjedid to the governorates of Tamanrasset and Adrar last week was evidence of this desire on the part of the political leadership to see the whole of the national territory enjoy the fruits of development. This will is reflected, moreover, in the national charter in these terms: "Independent and socialist Algeria uses the resources with which its regions have been favorably endowed by nature in order to develop the regions to which it has shown less favor and to build a balanced country, creating an economically viable and interdependent whole."

Age-Old Isolation

At the end of 2 decades of tireless effort, devoted above all to establishing industrial production units, petrochemical and metallurgical complexes, and processing units, among others, near the port infrastructures, it is time for the southern part of the country, where the population density is much lower

than that in the north, to be able to enjoy the progress which will rescue it from the long stagnation due to the rigors of the climate and the inadequacy of the road infrastructure and storage capacities. A number of parameters have made the south, and more particularly the deep south, incapable of fully absorbing the credit allocated to it in connection with development (regional, local or national programs). The trans-Saharan road, the umbilical cord between the north and the extreme southern part of the country, had the initial advantage of providing a breath of hope for our compatriots residing in these regions, who are the victims of nature's cruelty. Breaking down this age-old isolation is a challenge, perhaps the greatest one, for our young economy. In fact, when the residents of the northern part of the country feel the need to "go down and live" in one of the Saharan settlements, will this not be the obvious proof that a just order of affairs has been reestablished and that our economy has totally succeeded in its noble mission? On a less grand scale than in the northern part of the country, for obvious reasons, the state has provided much for the development of the south. Breaking the bonds of isolation first of all involved reducing distances and strengthening transportation, the airlines in particular. And it is no accident that during the visit paid by the chief of state to Tamanrasset and Adrar, special stress was placed on the airport program. With the major obstacle, the distance, overcome, anything can be hoped today. The term "desert" will have no more meaning in the decades to come than a fleeting memory, a reference to the past.

Integrated regional development through the development of local potential will be one of the numerous keys which will open up the doors of the future, of progress and modernity, for the south. In this way neither will the north be in charge of the south nor the south of the north, but they will rather develop within a context and in a spirit based on complementing each other. At the same time, the regional development of the governorates in the south will make it possible to increase our trade with our sub-Saharan neighbors both in quantity and in quality.

The orchards of yesteryear which have disappeared will be reborn, thanks to the will of men. Encroachment will be made on the desert which has spread pitilessly wherever man has been unable to resist it. More small earthen dams and water projects on a greater or larger scale will provide new trumps for man to play in his daily struggle against the desert. In the Tamanrasset, Centoul and Ain Amguel Wadis, dikes will retain the beneficent waters. The Amsel dike, where young men called up for national service--pioneers in their way--are at work will contribute to reviving the orchards which the dwindling of the alluvial water table reduced to nothing. The new dike will hold back the waters and eliminate underground losses. In view of the need to reduce distances and to increase traffic in both passengers and freight toward the south, the need to multiply the water resources of the south was on the agenda during the visit paid by the president of the republic to the governorates of Tamanrasset and Adrar. During the working session he held with local authorities in Tamanrasset, the chief of state stated that the water sector "needs not only short-term, but also medium- and long-term projects." However, priority has been given to drinking water. In addition, beginning next September, an experiment unique of its kind will be tried: it involves the

building of the first underground clay dam. Water does exist in the south, and the resources of the Gault water table are substantial. Research is under way in Hoggar. The old irrigation tunnels will soon be important only to enthusiastic photographers.

The housing crisis which plagues the north has not spared the southern part of the country. In the course of his tour, President Chadli Bendjedid visited the sites where housing is being built (21,000 units in Tamanrasset within the framework of the 5-year plan). These establishments for human use are provided with the collective equipment necessary for the tenants, and represent a foretaste of what the regional future will be. The health infrastructures will also have to be developed thanks to the completion of urban hospital establishments. The first action of the president of the republic in Adrar was to commission the electric plant which will transform life in 26,000 homes in Adrar and Reggane thanks to electricity. One can readily imagine all of the new prospects opening up for this region, beyond the domestic realm.

The means of making the tools of development available in the governorates of the south exist, but must be multiplied and strengthened. The realization of the projects included in the development programs remains to be carried out. An appeal is thus being made to both administrative and technical cadres, the latter being in very short supply. The same shortage can be seen where the means of implementation are concerned. In this connection, the chief of state commented in Tamanrasset on the need to take all parameters into account, doing so with regard to the volume of financial investment needed for the building of roads in this vast governorate, such that the real yield will be in balance with the financial total. This will prevent the expenditure of sizeable sums due to the lack of any guarantee of continuous activity, the permanent location of the inhabitants, or major mining resources.

President Chadli Bendjedid referred again to the role to be played by the extreme south of Algeria, in speaking to the local authorities, since it represents the essential junction between the northern part of the country and the center of Africa. The building of an international airport will provide the capital of Hoggar with this new dimension. From the Tiririne gold mines to the uranium deposits in Timgaouine-Abankor, the deep south contains incalculable riches. The potential for specifically local development is real, not just a mirage in the distance. It is thus logical that as the beginning of the third millenium approaches, our gaze and our hopes should turn toward the southern part of our country, and our political leadership is contemplating focusing an ever more substantial part of the general development effort there.

If there is no real development of the governorates in the southern and extreme southern part of the country, it will not be possible to count on the desired situation of economic and social harmony, due essentially to a skillfully pursued policy of regional balance and opening up the neglected regions. Little time is left, and we are using a cliché reiterated many times when we write that the south is "in the shadow of development." Henceforth, we will be able to state that the south is in a situation of dynamic and irreversible progress.

The Amsel Dike

The Amsel dike which is under construction can be described, on the basis of the technical specifications, as follows:

--Construction material: reinforced concrete;

--Technical characteristics: height 13.5 meters, length 72 meters, capacity 210,000 cubic meters;

--Completion schedule: beginning of work scheduled to last 7 months in February 1983;

--Construction cost: 13 million dinars.

Airport Construction Schedule

Description of the Tamanrasset Airport:

Main runway, 3,600 x 60 meters;
Secondary runway, 2,500 x 45 meters;
Parking aprons, 300 x 2.84 meters;
Initial completion time, 5 years;
Execution schedule 3 years.

First phase: secondary runway, March 1980-April 1981; construction time 14 months.

Second phase: main runway, October 1981-December 1982; completion time 15 months.

Personnel training: the personnel trained during the construction of the Tamanrasset airport will total 624 individuals, including 538 mechanical personnel and machine operators, and 86 trained for specific positions.

a) Airports completed and commissioned: Ghardaia, Adrar, In-Amenas (one first runway), Tamanrasset (two runways built by the HCSN [National Service's High Commissioner's Office]).

b) Airports being built: In-Amenas (second runway), Bechar (a second runway), Djanet, new (two runways).

c) Airports to be built: El-Golea, El-Oued, Timimoun, Bechar (second runway), Illizi.

It should be noted that this important program is being complemented in part by a series of airports in Hauts-Plateaux (High Plateaus), such as those in Tiaret (being built), Tlemcen (completed), Biskra (soon to be commissioned), Setif and Batna (under study).

Other complementary work includes resumption of work on the earthen roadbeds for a half dozen landing strips in the extreme southern part of the country (Gara-Djebilet, Bordj Badji Mokhtar, Cherrachene, In-Guezzam and Oued Aribine).

In addition, since the trans-Saharan road is the means par excellence of crossing our national frontiers, the privileged position accorded some of the many airports described by international airlines in general and African ones in particular should be noted.

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VARIOUS EDITORIALS CALL FOR ELIMINATION OF ARMY PRIVILEGES

Armed Militia Propounded

Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic 28 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by "a soldier from the revolutionary committees of the armed forces": "Platoons of the Armed People and an End to the Traditional Military Establishment"]

[Text] No one can deny or ignore the basic fact of the ideology of the revolution in the mass state of the great first [of September revolution] which has been combining the essence of Arab nationalist mass theory since the volcanic outburst of the revolutionary tide in 1969, and which, as events stress every day, has been further and further declaring and increasing the credibility of its orientations and consolidating its mass roots in affirmation of the power of the people.

The true nature of the revolutionary organization of the masses, which is aimed at hastening the declaration of the establishment of the armed people, is being realized through its direct link with the revolution of the masses. Therefore the radical social change of the group which does not belong to the mass society has remained a powerful cry which has been fermenting in the depths of the historic leadership of the revolution and is in keeping with the headlines of the newspaper AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR, Number 174: "The Army Is Hashish and Wantonness."

The haste in declaring the establishment of a people under arms cannot be viewed as an existing system which derives its justification apart from any mass revolutionary national context. It is not a material or mathematical fact which is accepted just because it is logically correct. Rather, the national statements and speeches of the historic leaders of the great revolution of the first have proved that the masses' political system and their fixed economic base, the mass state of the people under arms, arose spontaneously from the nature of the mass composition of the orientations of the powers of the people themselves. That is, they have been the result of the thinking of the theoretician and teacher, the citizen Mu'ammār al-Qadhafi, as a moral and historic person and a leader of the great revolution of the first. Therefore a basic radical change must take place in the fascist composition of the traditional military institution, with its Machiavellian components and its strict culture, which does not belong in form or substance to the unique cultural model of the era of the masses. This "mass solution" will then be reflected in various other traditional social systems, and they will be replaced and made truly to orient themselves to the application of actual trans-

formations that will have the effect of measuring up to the serious events which have afflicted the identity of our national homeland, which has been cursed by regional rulers who claim to be the guardians of the masses, think by proxy for the masses, rule the masses by the stick of tyranny and laws of forced labor, fragmenting them into groups and cliques and distributing "the title of principdom, which are bondage!" Traditional social changes inside and outside the Arab nation have always remained incomplete, almost stalled, since they have not been carried out in the name of a more comprehensive and lasting national mass objective.

By the standards of the foregoing, for the sake of the truth, there is no doubt that the statement "the armed people" means first of all that the historic leadership of the revolution, in the mass state of the great first, has discarded traditional garb in order to orient itself toward the plan for a new mass civilization, because it has come to need the intrinsic growth of the defense capabilities of the masses if the old scale of values is to be replaced by a totally new one which will define mass values that had not prevailed previously, and indeed were totally contradicted.

These values are not related to any surface manifestation of "dominance by the people." Rather, they extend deep into the roots of the masses themselves, to the peak of the nationalist embodiment of the regime of the masses. They are a comprehensive view of man and his relationships in the context of the detachments of the armed people, and an assertion of the meaning of their existence; this view in reality constitutes the implicit interpretations of the historic leadership of the revolution of the great first, which has created and innovated new components of civilization through effective orientations in jurisprudence and the resolution of the cause on behalf of the emancipation of the downtrodden.

Therefore, the lead article in the 174th issue of the newspaper AL-ZAHF AL-AKH DAR, "The Road to the Era of the Masses," is not a proposal for your traditional solution, or an "arrogant battalion commander" calling for defense and the courage of a lion against people who are of lower rank, salary or intellectual level and are naive members of the numerical base of the army. Rather, it is an article of volcanic provocation, one that inflames people's emotions and dazzles their vision. The Green Book has inflamed the feelings of both worlds with its civilized radiance and with the violence of its rejection of unjust relations and the repressive practices of the false gods on earth. The article in itself is an unswerving defense aimed at unity, liberation and final triumph of the cause of freedom in all civilized areas. It is a work of research into a comprehensive, integrated philosophy of being. It embodies the great forward rush of intrinsic powers, of the imperatives of total revolution. It is a moral appeal to all noble soldiers inside and outside the Arab nation to consecrate their time, all time, and effort, all effort, to the national organization of the masses and the destruction by fire of the traditional fascist military institutions which dominate, control and issue their mechanical commands in a manner that ignores the rights of the individual and the family, commands which are also final ones that degrade the value of man so that he is therefore trodden under the rubble by the hooves of animals and the heels of fascists.

In addition, any hashish addict in a traditional army, with his copper medals and stars which some services of the British "lord" have polished up for him is, by his point of view, opposed to all mass revolutionary orientation, and is asserting his existence through a defensive position, as if his existence had nothing to guarantee its continuation once the requirements of the mass onslaught were met in full and the judgments of religious jurisprudence regarding the detachments of the armed people triumphed over the condition of the traditional makeup of the fascist groupings in the military army and the elements of the values of servitude.

In addition, any officer or soldier who takes drugs and liquor, and deals with and promotes them, holds an implicit viewpoint which he conceals behind the actual condition of "introversion" which he embraces and defends. It is a viewpoint which still deliberately pretends ignorance of the principle of the mass movement of history, adheres to the unity of tradition and the rituals of addiction and sees, in its regression and entrenchment within itself, a defense against the discovery, forcible seizure, armed search and interrogation of every aberrant fascist, arrogant officer or depraved soldier, against the day in which every man will be interrogated individually and a "no" will become the determination of responsibilities.

We now analytically conclude that the ailments that have plagued the traditional military institution, which in some cases are on the level of high treason and allegiance to the enemy, are not just various manifestations of the loss of cultural conviction, including values, first of all, and of social systems based on oppressive relationships secondly. The revolution and the Green invasion, the road to the era of the masses in opposition to these ailments is only a violent embodiment of awareness of the birth of a plan to establish an armed people who will not be defeated, cannot be besieged and cannot be starved out and who are linked in spirit to the historic command of the revolution of the great first. The same historic command is in charge of the conditions for hastening the establishment of this army, and will benefit from the interaction of its resources and the organization of its reserve formations for the sake of living human values that are in parallel with the political force of the powers of the people.

Officer Praises Crackdown

Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic 28 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by "an officer from the revolutionary committees of the armed forces:"
"I Am With You the Entire Road"]

[Text] A rotten stench has clogged people's noses, and indeed has given them a permanent allergy; it is the stench of an arch backward reaction and rampant corruption that one can no longer find room to be silent about. As one says, the flood has reached the high water mark. I am on your side all the way, as I mentioned in this preface, but allow me to apologize [for making this remark]: in the course of the statements in your introduction, specifically "applied ignorance, an ignorance which is ashamed of its shadow," I agree with you as far as everything that was stated but object to this phrase, because they are not ignorant. An ignorant person is someone who is ignorant of something, but they are aware; further, [it is a matter of] the feebleness of their spirits and the force of personality of their wives, who are truly ignorant and have forced them to descend to this level which has been described in this embarrassing way. I am indeed with you all the way [regarding] the contents of this

article, from the trafficking in hashish to the importation of liquor, the opening of brothels, the people who act as middlemen, the proteges, the people who live in luxurious mansions and drive fast cars, the people who carouse late into the night and keep morally depraved tapes. Yes, I am with you all the way.

They wear brilliant medals which adorn their chests to the point where their shoulders sag, and they get drunk to the dregs. They are bourgeois and reactionary and, by Ahmad al-Dajani, they are not ignorant or backward. I can go on to say that they are dealers in gold and precious stones, dealers in foreign currency and dealers in purses. I am with you all the way.

Hashish and wantonness; therefore we will stay together and will split up at once.

Was it written at birth on the foreheads of the people who have entered the army that they would enter the army and that others would not but would be considered part of the wretched people, as you have described them? Or must we realize, rather, that the army is an organization like any other one, indeed is an organization that is very much a target, especially from rotten reactionaries and the forces of colonialism and imperialism, and, proceeding from that premise, realize that the emphasis that has been made on the army by the reactionaries and the imperialist forces is aimed at conspiring against the revolution and its lofty revolutionary goals -- that they have conspired against the personality of our brother the commander for what he represents, and that that is not lost on anyone?

For this reason we must realize that rotten, deteriorated reactionary circles have infiltrated this organization. It is they who have committed these crimes and these acts of degenerate morality. However, you must raise your pen and your words with full force on behalf of the soldiers who have believed in the revolution and the ideas of the revolutionary, in spite of the presence of the traditional military and the laws that make these repugnant things lawful, and on behalf of the people who gave their lives in sacrifice for the call of the commander the night the revolution burst forth, the night of the great first. They are totally alien to these characteristics. Raise your pen on behalf of the people who have responded to the call of duty by giving their lives as the price of freedom and support for the people of Chad and have set a most splendid example. Raise your pen on behalf of the people who stood up against the 1977 reactionary invasion of our eastern borders which was paid for by imperialism and international Zionism. Raise your pen on behalf of the people who fell as martyrs to duty in Lebanon, in the call for Arab freedom and dignity. Raise your pen on behalf of the people who stood up to America in defense of the gulf. Raise your pen on behalf of the people who responded to the call in numerous areas, among them people who fought with action, application and knowledge. They are the protectors and the self-sacrificing people of the revolution. They are the people who have raised the banner of freedom by working to implant the power of the people and the uprising of the armed people. They are the nucleus which believed in what they promised the commander on the night of the great first.

My brother the dear writer, we must study this thoroughly, as a real revolutionary force, in all areas and institutions, without pity, leniency or indifference, and liquidate them in practice, not by applause, and with all possible speed, so that we will thereby be together all along the road.

If you differ with me over this opinion of mine, I have only to tell you, for instance, "He stated that what he apprehended was a frank enemy." I hope that I have not been mistaken; the eye is the auxiliary of the mind.

Further Call by Officer

Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKH DAR in Arabic 28 Mar 83 p 8

[Article by "an officer from the revolutionary committees of the armed forces": "The Companions"]

[Text] I stand, as a companion of the teacher, to pledge allegiance to the masses just as the companions pledged allegiance to the prophet, under the tree, and to tell them, to hell with little yellow copper stars, to hell with them. I have borne them on my shoulder, and they are copper, yellow and cheap — of little value in spite of their extreme brilliance. They remind me of the people who made them in the past ages, the sons of lords and noblemen, the pioneers of the colonization of peoples who colonized and despoiled people's powers, oppressed them, dealt with them arbitrarily and bequeathed them ignorance, poverty and disease. To hell with the little stars I wear on my shoulder; these are their origins, and these are the people who made them. To hell with them, and all the license, weakness, spinelessness, and vileness of the bloodsucking colonialists with their class origins, racist thinking, domineering bent, exploitative goals, and oppression of peoples. To hell with the little stars I wear on my shoulder, which were made by the class members of the countries of the masters, the sons of the lords who were pupils at the hands of the delusive terrorist Talmudic priests, who created the courts of inspection, exterminated the red Indians, and oppressed the blacks in the course of centuries of ignorance and oppression. To hell with little stars that have made people proceed lost and in vain, neither reaching the stars nor attaining the high mountains. To hell with little stars which raise man's feet over their place on the ground and put them on the skins of corpses vainly, insolently and apostately and put people's heads over the stars, which are coppery, yellow, brilliant and cheap. Teacher, the man who has taught us the revolution: the man who has led us in the revolution against fascism and against militarocracy; the man who has stood teaching and teaching us, guiding and guiding us, warning and warning us, drawing the road to the future for us so that we can share it with the masses of the world, masses who are devoid of rank, devoid of vanity and waywardness, devoid of the dreams of palaces whose inhabitants strut about in clothes of silk, in which people's heads are absent, as their spirits are absent: you, our teacher, have our pledge in attaining dominance by the masses over all that is militaristic. You are the man of the era of the masses, through whom you have triumphed over servitude, have destroyed dictatorship, have uprooted feudalism and capitalism and have held everything that is not part of the masses and everything that is against the power of the masses and against the socialism of the masses in contempt. You have our pledge of military service on behalf of the masses. You have our pledge in the diminution and shriveling of everything that is militaristic, traditional and above the power of the masses

and their basic people's conferences, and resembles the caesars and princes of Rome, whom we have been accustomed to seeing going about in the silk of vanity and waywardness, whom we have been accustomed to seeing in palaces and hanging gardens, and who have fallen beneath the feet of the companions, the companions of the pledge, who pledged loyalty to the prophet under the tree, who did not have palaces, silk clothing, noblemen's carriages or feet that were above the level of the ground -- the people of the pledge who were liberated from servitude and poverty, God's heirs on earth, people who were not kings or anything like them. You, the masses, have the pledge of the companions, you who throw the little copper stars and the clothing of the generals who are the sons of Britain and the people who resemble them under your feet. The revolutionaries of the age of the masses are the sons of the armed people, and those who believe in the armed people, not militarists who set up special clubs and embroidered uniforms, yellow copper insignia and badges. 'Umar al-Mukhtar did not wear them, and they were not on his shoulders or chest, but he defeated the sons of Rome who did wear them. The companions, the pupils of the prophet and teacher, were not familiar with them, and they did not create men. However, men and half-men, alike, have worn them. Revolutionaries and traitors have worn them. Everyone who faced the enemy has worn them, and everyone who ran away from the enemy has worn them. They are insignia that imply a class of murderers in which apostasy and treason lodge, whom pride and waywardness make imagine that they are greater than the masses, that they are above them, and that the masses were created to bow down beneath their feet. You have our pledge, masses, and the person who created your era has the pledge that we revolutionaries will cast the clothing of the military with its class origins, racist orientation, bloody tendency, and domination of the masses, in fascist and dictatorial garb, under the feet of the masses, so that they may trample them underfoot. You have our pledge, masses, that we will bring about your dominance over the traditional military, for you are the armed people, so that we can dissolve it within you, or throw it into the graves of traitors. You, masses, and the pioneer of your age, have our pledge that the power and command will belong to the masses, not to the copper insignia and the military people who bear them. In their pledge to the masses, the companions of the teacher make a pact with the masses to commit themselves to the principle of companionship that is armed with the morality of the revolution, rejects deviation, stands up to everything that is dominant, fascist and above the people, and destroys everything that prevents the masses from bearing their arms, from controlling their revolution and from exercising their authority. You have our pledge, masses, that the principles of militarism will be kept from coopting your experience and that the revolutionaries in the armed forces will be inspired to eliminate every fascist whose imagination and spirit make him conceive that he is above the masses. You have our pledge, masses, that the sycophants who are waiting to ambush the power of the masses will be cut down in size. You have our pledge, masses, that the people who resemble conspiring kings who are hatching conspiracies against everything that belongs to the masses, from the companions of the man who is creating the era of the masses, whom he has taught morality and led along the road to revolution, the people who renounce mastery and aloofness and are standing in the midst of the masses, proceeding with them along the path of the revolution, you have our pledge, masses, that everything that has been inherited from the militarism of Britain, the perverse legacy which has made us raise the flag of the British

admiralty with its white and red colors over the gates to our camps as a symbol of prohibition 13 years after the revolution was held, without our understanding the sterility of what we have inherited and its threat to the masses and their sovereignty, will be destroyed.

You have our pledge, masses, that you will crush underfoot everything that is traditional and militaristic. We, the companions of the teacher, will cast the copper stars under your feet, masses, so that you can crush them. Let me throw them under your feet so that I can be a soldier and companion along the road of the teacher.

11887

CSO: 4504/325

EDITORIAL CALLS FOR CRACKDOWN ON POWER OF SECRETARIES

Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic 28 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Salim Ahmad: "Secretaries or Ministers?"]

[Text] When revolutionary change in relations and systems occurs in a given society, where the old oppressive relations are eliminated, destroyed and replaced by just, sound relations through the action of revolution, in accordance with a social, political and economic system -- when this happens, we can only hasten to issue our verdicts, if we see things that violate them, in the context of daily life and the application of revolutionary theory, and are in contradiction with them, even if those things lie within the framework that has been defined in accordance with the new relations. To be more specific, I can state that the change in structure and relationships, in political, economic and social terms, this revolutionary change, has of necessity arisen from a moral value system that believes in liberating the power of the people as a means for achieving this authority, socialism, and the liberation of human needs from the control of others, because the person who produces is the person who consumes, and so forth. This all underlines to us the fact that when revolutionary change is created in the society in a manner that is based on a theory where aspects are integrated and applied, there must be an awareness of this change and of the effectiveness of reactionary backward values in influencing the change and trying to enter into its fabric. A profound, revolutionary study of this state of affairs is necessary, in terms of its consideration of both sides of the struggle and the fact that the victorious side will be the one that knows the power, the plans and the methods of its enemy.

Getting away from abstractions, we are now faced with what happened last week, "the promotion of the secretaries of the peoples' committees," and the observations that have been made about that. First, some people's conferences lost their coordination and went back on their former resolutions regarding amalgamation.

Second, the same persons are appearing again in the secretariats of the conferences and are being promoted again at each session.

Third, with the approach of the date for promotions, the intensity of the struggle among people who are competing for the positions of secretary, assistant secretary and secretariat member increases.

The preceding observations are connected, harmonious and consonant with the people who have interests in the failure to establish the power of the people and the profound spread of this power in the spirits of the people. Who are the people who have an interest in this?

They are tribalists, people with a tribal mentality who exploit normal social relations and turn them into party organizations within which they exercise their control over the people inside and outside these relations, by using them as a force which is in competition with the remaining tribal party entities and their leaders, "Shaykh so and so from Trib X, so and so from Y, and so and so from Z." The other side of the tribal sheikhs is the bourgeois or feudalist side. They have created their leadership with the money they have, which they have been given from the wealth of the society, and have created oversight and care for the individual, whom they consider to be the highest value, out of their tribes.

They are regionalists to the vilest degree -- up to the boundaries of the conference, the locality, the street and even the alleyway. They are people who consider their aspirations to be above the masses, no matter how the forms of this disdain might be modified and diversified.

They are opportunists and people who look out for themselves. They have built palaces and moved out of the old sections in which they lived with the masses that gave them their trust.

They are all these people, and those who are keeping company with them to eat whatever falls from the thieves' banquet.

However, we are not talking here about an inevitable matter, one that cannot be resisted no matter how interconnected and complicated it might be, even in spite of these people's success in paralyzing the effectiveness of some procedures, and making them wear rings with which to endorse their acts and give them revolutionary legitimacy: the remedy is not difficult, once we can diagnose the condition.

Let us start with a practical point and ask why this conflict over the secretariats exists.

Perhaps it is just a minority of people who have the experience of being symbols then relinquish it of their own accord. For people to find themselves suddenly in a situation where everyone is waiting for what they have to say, waiting for them to sign, sit down, stand up, solve the problems of home and the street, and so on and so forth, consecrating in all aspects of the lives of the inhabitants of the conference themselves through shrewdness, demagoguery, fraud, obstinacy and the accommodation of all the old centers of influence, they adhere obstinately to the position of secretary, or even assistant secretary, in their view and the view of their group. Thus, the merging of three conferences into a single one (as happened when the Benghazi Center, al-Sabiri and Ra's 'Ubaydah conferences were merged into a single one, which was the first concentrated statement), the number of secretaries shrinks from three to one, and as soon as the merger takes place efforts are begun to push

back this decision in favor of one person or another, who found himself outside the secretariat suddenly and therefore lost the privileges that had been bestowed on him, such as full-time access to general people's cars.

In this brief article, we demand at least that the revolutionary committees move to limit the secretaries' practices which are turning them into ministers, so that each of them can be given back his real weight as a citizen performing public service. It is also necessary to cast a glance at the fact that there are no reasonable justifications why conference secretaries should receive general people's cars from the society or advance up the organizational ladder to the special grade, or perhaps even the status of full time work, which is basically unjust. A review should be made on why they have full time jobs if the conference work is seasonal and matters have been viewed in the opposite manner, and why, if the work in the secretariats of the people's conferences does not entail legitimate or illegitimate privileges (mediation or favoritism), and if it is not full time work, that is, is work "for the love of God," outside the regular working hours, why all these bourgeois wolves, opportunists, members of tribal parties and so forth should volunteer for it, or whether matters will now change and only people who are honest with themselves, their lord and their people will volunteer for promotions.

11887

CSO: 4504/324

LIBYA

BRIEFS

AGRICULTURAL SECTOR AID -- The value of the aid in kind which the Agricultural Bank offered during the past year, 1982, came to 8 million dinars. This included aid for fodder, agricultural machinery, chemical fertilizer, insecticides, beekeeping equipment and other agricultural accessories. The value of short-, medium- and long-term loans came to more than 14 million dinars in the same period. Sources in the general people's committee for land reclamation and redevelopment said that these loans and forms of aid lie within the context of the great attention the great 1 September revolution is devoting to the field of agriculture and its effective contribution to uplifting this important sector. [Text] [Tripoli AL-FAJR AL-JADID in Arabic 2 Apr 83 p 2]

AL-ZAWIYAH REAL ESTATE LOANS -- Sources in the Real Estate Savings and Investment Bank in al-Zawiyah have stated that the total real estate loans the bank has given to citizens to build housing from its establishment up to 15 June 1981 came to 8,080, with a total value of 40,056,656 dinars. These sources state that the value of the loans that were given out in the period between 15 June 1981 and 31 December 1982 came to 12,931,898 dinars. They stated that it was expected that more than 16 million dinars would be disbursed during the year as the value of loans that have been approved. [Text] [Tripoli AL-FAJR AL-JADID in Arabic 6 Apr 83 p 8]

CSO: 4504/324

TAX EVASION FOILS COLLECTION EFFORTS

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 13 Apr 83 p 9

[Article by Gid'on Eshet: "Treasury Collected More Money From Us, but Tax Evasion Increased"]

[Text] The increase in government earnings last year was due to new levies and taxes, not to an increase in collection. Sales tax will not be repealed. Tax auditing focuses on a model. Every dollar spent to purchase a car brought the Treasury an additional 41 shekels. A total of 90,000 video systems were sold.

During the last fiscal year, each Israeli household paid an average of 250,000 shekels to the Treasury. In today's prices, that means that every household sets aside approximately 32,000 shekels per month for taxes, either for direct taxes such as income tax or indirect ones such as value-added tax, customs, sales tax and many others.

In spite of all this, the figures released yesterday in Jerusalem by the income tax administration indicate that there is apparently an increase in tax evasion and that collection is now failing completely.

Growth in Black Market

The tax rate of the Gross National Product in Israel is one of the highest in the world. Last year the rate was increased considerably. The overall taxes that Israelis paid last year increased by 160 percent and more, whereas the consumers price index increased during the same period by approximately 120 percent. Yet, this huge increase is not due to the turnout or efficiency of the collection system, but rather to the levying of new taxes.

Last year, there were new taxes such as the "Operation Peace for Galilee" loan, levies on the stock exchange, an increase of the value-added tax from 12 to 15 percent and of the import levy of 3 percent rate, and the travel tax.

If we subtract these additional taxes from the total taxes collected, we reach the conclusion that there was an actual drop in tax collection. This indicates that the black market is on the rise, a fact which has additional backing from the data released yesterday by the Income Tax Commission. During 1980 the average earnings as recorded in the income tax model exceeded the regular tax

assessments by 60 percent. In 1981 (the reports of 1981 were examined a year later) the difference reached 95 percent. This means that the efficiency of clerks dealing with regular assessments does not match market developments, as seen, by officials working long and hard on the model. In other words, tax evasion is increasing, and the black market is expanding along with it.

New Formulation of Law

At a press conference to sum up the year's internal revenue, Treasury Commissioner Moshe Bartov, Director of Customs Mordekhai Bareket and Income Tax Commissioner Dov Nieger brought up some interesting developments in the area of taxes:

--The income tax administration will stop sending tax-evasion notices if the sum is insignificant. So far, people have been notified for evading petty sums, as few as several shekels even.

--The income tax law will be rewritten so as to be more simplified and uniform. We hope that within two years assessments will be made on a much clearer basis.

--Contrary to earlier reports, the sales tax will not be repealed. To quote the speakers: "It will be with us forever."

--The form used by exporters for payment of taxes on import of raw materials will be phased out. Instead, they will receive an incentive bonus based on the volume of their exports.

--During the first 10 days of this month, some 14,000 Israelis travelled overseas. No one was delayed due to problems with the foreign travel tax, and only 45 were called in for clarification.

--A committee of the income tax commission is apparently going to recommend an exemption from the tax on index differentials. For instance, when an insurance company pays compensations half a year after damages have been incurred and adds to them the index differential, this differential is currently subject to tax, according to today's tax regulations. The recommendation is to exempt such payments from tax.

--The income tax model has turned out to be the main focus in the work of the income tax commission's auditing division. Whoever fails in the model should watch out.

90,000 Video Systems Sold

Last year there was a 22 percent increase in private car imports. Every dollar spent on purchasing a car brought the Treasury 41 shekels in taxes, above the exchange rate.

Last year 90,000 video systems were sold compared with 25,000 the previous year.

12371

CSO: 4423/122

PLOTS OF LAND TO BE GIVEN AWAY TO GALILEE SETTLERS

Tel Aviv HATZOFE in Hebrew 10 Apr 83 p 4

[Article: "Israel Real Estate Administration Will Give Away 4,200 Plots of Land to Settlers in 42 Sites in Galilee"]

[Text] Israel Real Estate Administration will give away 4,200 plots of land to settlers in the 42 sites in Galilee. This was announced yesterday by M. Shamir, general manager of the Real Estate Administration, at a weekly meeting of the engineering club in Tel Aviv.

Shamir explained that the first 100 plots of land in each of the 42 sites would be given away to those coming to live on them, provided that they remain there at least 8 years. Each settler would receive the plot as a standing loan which would turn into a grant at the end of 8 years of residence.

Shamir added that the administration invited the public to organize themselves in small companies and then raffle off the plots among applicants. Each plot allotted to a company would generally include no less than 60 housing units.

According to an ITIM correspondent, a number of companies are at present being organized in Jerusalem, and plots will be raffled off there shortly.

In answer to a question, the speaker said that those with rights to plots at Karme Yosef had to build houses on them within 5 years or else return the plots.

Shamir opened his speech by saying that the Real Estate Administration is concerned with preventing various factors from gaining control of Israeli lands, as well as protecting farmland.

He mentioned that the public commission appointed by the minister of agriculture will submit a report within 3 to 6 months after gathering a variety of data.

"Build Your Own Home" Project in Development Areas

The speaker said that the "Build Your Own Home" project in the development areas was started in order to encourage settlement there. Between 25 and 50 percent of the cost of the land is given as a grant and the programs have been successful.

Shamir said that the leasing contracts which were formerly drawn up by settlers with the JNF [Jewish National Fund] could be extended up to 49 years. In the 50th year the contract may be extended for an additional 49 years with full privileges for the tenants. During the 1982-83 budget year, the administration offered land to various sectors, for housing, to financial branches, and to the "One-third of the tenders were returned without a bid, and only two-thirds responded to the tenders" Shamir stated.

The prices are determined by a government assessor, and not by the Real Estate Administration. They are set according to market response based on supply and demand. Shamir said that income from many tenders is higher than the minimum prices.

Shamir announced that in the 1983-84 budget, 7,000 units of land would be marketed for construction and housing, 3,000 units for the "Build Your Own Home" project, and 2,500 units for multistory buildings.

12371

CSO: 4423/122

COMMENTARY MOURNS ISAM SARTAWI'S DEATH, DENOUNCES ELI'AV, AVNERI

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 13 Apr 83 p 11

[Editorial by Amos Karmel: "Friends Talk About Sartawi"]

[Text] The Book of Proverbs tells us: "You must not rejoice when your enemy falls," which is indeed a good, reasonable idea. I myself would humbly add: Be wary of what you say at the fall of your enemy, friend or anyone else. On such occasions, you must not distort the truth. You must not seek political gains from blood and death. You must not, because it is disrespectful of the dead. You must not, because it might arouse certain questions which would be inconsistent with our impassioned mourning.

What is happening now, following the assassination of Isam Sartawi proves it. The Israelis who are grieving over his death do not content themselves with expressing shock over his untimely death. They are not satisfied with merely denouncing terror and violence, and singing the praises of his deeds and personal qualities. They are quick to acknowledge along with these their own initiatives, actions, and attributes. They project their own speculations and far-fetched conclusions, which are supposedly drawn from the tragedy itself.

It begs the question whether it is good and proper for Arye Eli'av, for instance, to attribute to Sartawi, in his eulogy, "he liked to quote the story I once told him," or for Uri Avneri to mourn him with "we spoke of each other....I lauded the courage of the Palestinian peace fighters... and he lauded my meeting with Yasir 'Arafat." Do these two men fear lest the glory of the dead will fade from the earth without radiating light upon them? Do they seek to share in his sacrifice?

It also begs the question of the list of victims of inter-Arab terror which they, Eli'av, Avneri, and others (Matityahu Peled, for example) present to us on this occasion. The list includes Sa'id Hamami, who was slain in London, Na'im Hadar, who was liquidated in Brussels, Fa'id Sa'il, who was gunned down behind Syrian lines in Lebanon, those and other PLO activists who were murdered because of their "so-called" crime of moderation. The list doesn't include the Imam Hozandar from Gaza, who was slain for supporting Sadat's initiative. Why? Was it because he was killed by those belonging to the central faction? Or was it because he didn't belong to that well-defined establishment which apparently ordered his liquidation.

It also begs the question of the meaning of the words "pioneer leading the camp," which recur over and over in eulogies and laments. Those words would be relevant if there were a pioneer and if there were a camp to follow him. It is difficult to see that such is the case from the things written by Sartawi's mourners, that is. It is difficult to see this from the description among other things of the chain of events in Algeria during the recent Palestine Council. Sartawi, as we read in the description, was planning to propose at that council modifications of those clauses in the Palestinian Charter which call for the annihilation of the "Zionist entity." According to the same description, he also planned to replace the consensus by parliamentary principle and majority rule. Would that it were. Let us assume for a moment that in the Palestinian Charter there are clauses which do not call for the annihilation of the Zionist entity (though anyone familiar with the charter knows that all its articles are aimed exclusively at this goal). Let us also forget for a moment that this idea that Sartawi had, if at all, totally contradicted what Matityahu Peled said in regard to the clauses (or the entire charter), namely, that they had already been nullified in 1974. Let us rather turn to Algeria, to the Council, to the majority whose rule Sartawi sought, and in which Sartawi's line was dominant, in the words of Peled and Avneri. This majority, let us not forget, denied the victim the right of speech; this majority, headed by Arafat, did not run the risk of discussing Sartawi's operational proposals, if there were any at all. This majority did not declare war on Abu Nidal and did not muster the courage to eliminate him (though here and there it was shown that murders and terror were not prohibited by this very same majority).

In spite of all this we are led to believe that that same majority loved Sartawi and sent him to carry out an acceptable, moderate policy. In other words, those who shut his mouth made him, as it were, their mouthpiece. Those who did not protect him from the assassins are supposed to appear more attractive now, more peace oriented, only because Sartawi is dead. Moreover, we are told that it's ironic that the man was murdered because of his moderation, while the Labor Party refused at the time to accept him in the Socialist International. We should say "shame on you, Labor Party, for not giving a bonus to the PLO just for having Sartawi represent it. You are a disgrace for not giving in to the camp which didn't follow in the pioneer's footsteps.

Pioneer? That's not for me to judge. But this is what Bassam Shak'ah, a resident of Nablus and not necessarily a moderate, said: "Sartawi was not moderate. He was nationalistic like me; it's not a question of moderation. Moderation, as Israelis see it, is nothing like the Palestinian's view. Sartawi ... cared and worried about the legitimate rights of our people ... The Israelis call me an extremist. If I am an extremist, then so was he."

In any case, we must not rejoice over his death. We must also not rejoice in his mourners' attempt to make a living off his blood.

12371
CS0: 4423/122

BRIEFS

FLATTO-SHARON LEBANON VISIT--Arriving in Beirut, Flatto-Sharon announced that "he was authorized to negotiate the release of IDF [Israel Defense Forces] prisoners." Sources in Israel say that for this affair he may end up in jail upon his return. "Former Israeli MK Shmu'el Flatto-Sharon arrived in Beirut and stated that he had been assigned to a special mission relating to the release of IDF prisoners from the PLO." This information was released last night by AFP. The AFP correspondent in Beirut added that, according to Flatto-Sharon, "The mission assigned to him was unrelated to any other action being taken in regard to the release of the prisoners." The AFP also reported that Flatto-Sharon arrived in Lebanon on an Israeli plane. Senior sources at the Defense Ministry and the IDF, said in reaction to the report this morning that Flatto-Sharon was not authorized to act in the name of the state of Israel and that it was apparently entirely on his own initiative. The sources expressed sharp criticism on his visit to Lebanon and his alleged mission to release the prisoners. Some even expressed the hope that his episode would end in Flatto-Sharon's imprisonment for illegal activities. The sources stressed that the IDF and Defense Ministry knew nothing whatsoever about Flatto-Sharon's visit to Lebanon. [Text] [Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 13 Apr 83 p 1] 12371

IAI PLANT FOR LAVI PLANE--Parts of the body of the Lavi plane will be built at the new aircraft industry plant at Be'er Sheva, which will be dedicated next month and will produce special lightweight, heavy-duty materials which can be designed in complex geometric shapes. These details were released yesterday by senior administrators of the aircraft industry to reporters visiting the new facilities. Some \$5 million have been invested in the plant so far; to complete it will cost \$8 million. Experts estimate that this will be one of the most advanced industrial plants in the world, equipped with special air-conditioning systems to maintain the proper temperatures in all parts of the plant. Israel today produces the internal parts of the executive plane "Astra," from materials made of various combinations of fibers, such as graphite, and special types of resin. The F-16 stabilizer is also produced in Israel under a special license from the American General Dynamics Company. Combined fibers are expected to be used extensively for building the wings, the tail and other parts. Some of these will be built in the new aircraft plant in Be'er Sheva, where modern production lines with computerized control and technological innovations, which cannot yet be revealed, are being installed. The directors of the aircraft industry in Be'er Sheva stated that the investments toward purchasing modern equipment for the local plant are valued at \$13 million. [Text] [Tel Aviv HATZOFE in Hebrew 12 Apr 83 p 4] 12371

SOVIET LABOR UNION DELEGATION VISITS

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 28 Feb 83 p 2

[Article by Yahya al-Juju: "Soviet Electrical Workers Delegation Concludes Visit to Jordan; Ties of Cooperation Strengthened Between the Workers of the Two Friendly Countries:]

[Text] A delegation of the Central Committee of the Electrical and Electronics Industry Workers of the Soviet Union left Amman today, after concluding discussions with the members of the board of directors of the General Union of Electrical Workers in al-Azraq. At the conclusion of the discussions, the following statement was issued:

"The delegation of the Central Committee of the Electrical and Electronics Industry Workers in the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Valeri Kuzhitshev, the secretary of the central committee, has visited Jordan 21-24 February 1983, in response to the friendly visit which the Jordanian delegation made to the Soviet Union in 1981, and in compliance with an invitation from the General Union of Electrical Workers in Jordan.

"During the visit, the delegation toured some Jordanian cities and saw many historic and cultural sights. They also saw some of the industrial accomplishments and electric power plants in Jordan. They met with union leaders in the General Federation of Trade Unions, as well as with many union leaders in the air transport, construction, oil, ground transport, food and public services, commercial and restaurant trades, paper, phosphate mines, municipalities, railroads and port sectors. It also met with many political, economic, social and administrative personalities. The delegation became acquainted with the accomplishments and privileges enjoyed by the electrical workers in Jordan, and with the union's activities aimed at achieving even more privileges in order to increase its members' standard of living, as well as their cultural, social and professional standards. For its part, the Soviet delegation explained the experiences and activities of the Soviet unions.

"In the name of the electrical workers in the Soviet Union and Jordan, and their determination for tireless struggle against the dangers of a nuclear war, to prevent the arms race in nuclear missiles, to work for disarmament, to condemn Israeli Zionist aggression against Lebanon and its bloody crimes which it perpetrated against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples with the

support of international imperialism. They also demand the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory. Both sides support the struggle of the Palestinian people in defense of their legal right to self-determination and to establish their free and independent state on their Palestinian homeland. Both sides agreed to strengthen and deepen bilateral relations between electrical workers in the Soviet Union and Jordan by exchanging visits of delegations and experts, by exchanging information, by establishing union and professional courses and by arranging constant consultations about questions of mutual interest.

"The Soviet delegation expressed its profound thanks and appreciation to the leadership of the General Union of Electrical Workers in Jordan and to all the union leaders in the labor movement for the warm reception and excellent hospitality which the delegation received during its visit to Jordan. It also expressed its best wishes to the workers of Jordan for progress and prosperity.

"Moreover, the leadership of the General Union of Electrical Workers in Jordan asked that the Soviet delegation convey to all Soviet workers the greetings of the electrical workers especially, and the workers of Jordan in general, and their hopes for their happiness and success."

The General Union of Electrical Workers gave a banquet yesterday evening in honor of the members of the Soviet delegation. It was attended by a great many official and labor dignitaries in Jordan.

7005

CSO: 4404/287

ARAB SECURITY PLAN DISCUSSED

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 5 Mar 83 p 2

[Article: "First Arab Protective Security Plan; The Goals Are: Protect Arab Communities From Crime, Establish a Scientific Basis for Preventive Security, Develop Reform Programs"]

[Text] Arab security experience will enter the field of joint Arab action through a 3-year Arab protective security plan. In order to learn about this plan and its goals, AL-DUSTUR is publishing this plan as it was published in the magazine SECURITY AND LIFE issued by the Arab Center for Security Studies and Training.

The following is the text of the plan:

Goals of the Security Plan

The security plan is aimed at protecting Arab communities from crime and at stabilizing security. This includes all corners of the Arab nation.

The plan is aimed specifically at the following:

1. Development of Human Capabilities: Increase the Arab policemen's leadership, technical and field capability through training aimed at effectiveness.
 2. Development of Material Assets: Fulfill the needs of the security organization in the Arab states, in terms of modern, advanced equipment, to include communications and laboratory equipment, weapons and vehicles, by means of a special organization for technical assistance.
 3. Establish a Scientific Basis for Protective Security: Arrange scientific field studies with a comprehensive look at the social and security problems in the Arab states, as well as legal and judicial studies, social care studies, and criminal and criminal reform studies, all of which should be published.
 4. Achieve a Joint Legal Framework: Develop Arab criminal laws into a uniform Arab penal code, for which the Islamic Shar'iah would be a source.
- . Develop Programs for Criminal and Degenerate Reform: Achieve effectiveness for protective organizations and for the reform programs in the Arab states, through joint Arab consultative efforts.

6. Neutralize the Negative Indicators in Arab Societies: Establish an Arab organization aimed at uncovering and calling attention to the negative or positive effects of the media programs, education, and the recreational, tourism and cultural programs, from the security aspect, and to increase security awareness among officials and citizens in the Arab states.

In order to achieve the interim goals of the first protective security plan, the following programs must be implemented:

Strengthen and support the training organization subordinate to the Arab Organization for Social Defense Against Crime, and task it with establishing a practical program for the next 3 years, to include achieving the plan's goals in the field of training and to obtain the highest possible standards of efficiency and skillfulness.

Development of a program for technical assistance, to include offering specialized consultations and technical assistance, in terms of financing operations to develop security capabilities in the Arab states, including appropriate modern equipment.

Implement these programs within the activities of the Arab Organization for Social Defense.

Support the capabilities of the organization's research and make it capable of fulfilling the needs of submitting the research and studies required by this stage, in accordance with plans prepared for the next 3 years.

Organize an ad hoc committee at the appropriate level to follow up whatever is done toward achieving an Arab criminal code, and unifying it in accordance with the prescribed goal. Its mission will be to bring the subject to the attention of officials in the Arab states, so that this uniformity will be achieved during the period of the first security plan.

Establish a reform council, as a permanent advisory board of senior specialists in Islamic law and social sciences, which would be competent in the following matters:

- Draw up modern designs for protective organizations
- Administrative and technical organization
- Establish advanced reform programs (religious, cultural, social, professional, etc.)
- Evaluate current programs and draw up alternative solutions for them.
- Establish an Arab board to evaluate the social programs, composed of experts carefully selected to direct media production, in terms of soundness of content and form, who would permit the media material to be rated as follows:
 - suitable for the general public; suitable for the adult public only; unsuitable content in terms of security and public morals; completely unsuitable.

Or any similar organization that could achieve the desired goal.

Form joint field leadership elements composed of border guards among those states which have common borders, whose job would be to implement plans putting greater surveillance and tighter controls around smugglers.

Form joint teams of customs officials among those states having common or close borders, in order to implement plans to close the loopholes and completely prevent smuggling.

Make bilateral security agreements general among all neighboring Arab states, so that a series of agreements can be organized which will make the Arab region a place that is unfavorable for local crime, not to mention international crime, provided that ultimately all these agreements are merged into one unified agreement.

Develop an Arab office for criminal policy, so that it can be an effective organization for Arab criminal police.

The total estimated cost of the security plan, in order to implement it within a period of 3 years, would amount to \$30 million.

7005

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BRIEFS

PRICE OF WHEAT FLOUR--Minister of Supply Ibrahim Ayyub issued a decree fixing the price of wheat flour. The text of the decree follows: "In accordance with the powers authorized by Article 14 of Supply Law No 42 of 1974, I hereby decree that the selling price of one kilogram of 'Zero' brand wheat flour, imported by the ministry of supply, is fixed at 70 piasters for the consumer from supermarkets and grocery stores throughout the kingdom. That price does not affect the selling price of one undivided sack which is set for the consumer at 3.5 dinars, according to order No 12 for 1983. Anyone violating this decree will be subject to the penalties provided in the above law. This decree will be effective as of 1 March 1982." Pursuant to the issuance of this decree, a responsible source in the Ministry of Supply stated that, in accordance with this decree, the consumer would be able to purchase "Zero" flour in groceries and supermarkets in amounts desired for daily household uses, so that quantities actually required can be obtained without being forced to buy a sack of flour from the ministry's warehouses. The source stressed that the ministry's warehouses were prepared to fill the needs of any merchant or citizen who wishes to buy this material by the sack at the price originally specified in order No 12 of 1982, which is 3.5 dinars per sack. [Text] [Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 1 Mar 83 p 2] 7005

CSO: 4404/287

ABU NIDAL GROUP SPLIT FROM PLO EXPLAINED

Leaders Grant Interview

Paris LIBERATION in French 25 Apr 83 pp 18-19

[Interview with Fatah Revolutionary Council leaders by several French journalists in Baghdad on 18 April 1983]

[Text] The interview with the leaders of the Abu Nidal Fatah Revolutionary Council movement which we are publishing here was granted in Baghdad to the special correspondent of LIBERATION and a group of French journalists. It took place at the general headquarters of the organization in the Iraqi capital on Monday, 18 April last. The officials of the group asked that the questions be submitted to them in writing, and the answers were received in Baghdad, also in writing, several days later. This was the reason that none of the questions could be rephrased, clarified or further explained in the light of the answers given.

[Question] What are the main differences between the Fatah Revolutionary Council and the organizations which belong to the PLO?

[Answer] The PLO was created following a decision made by the Arab regimes at the 1964 Arab Summit Conference. The PLO today is a framework within which contradictions coexist in an atmosphere of chaos and continual political maneuvers undertaken by the leaders. On the other hand, our movement emerged in 1965 as the overwhelming expression of the will of the masses. Its current structure is the direct consequence of the armed struggle against the Zionist enemy and reactionary solutions within the framework of the Arab-Zionist struggle. It is also a direct consequence of the struggle against the chaotic Palestinian reactions. As a movement, we believe that we represent unity of principle and practice, both in our revolutionary tasks and in our organizational structure.

We are a movement directly linked with our people and their cause, with our people's tradition of struggle. We are unconcerned about what people say because we are persuaded that what we are doing and what we express is just. We regard the position with regard to the Arab and Palestinian arena as basic,

particularly when the majority of the progressive forces are characterized by political impotence. We are also convinced that our support of these principles will provide a base for mass awareness and will continue to be a stumbling block for the capitulationist campaign with which our people are being confronted. We believe in the continuation of the armed struggle and we will develop our position and our organization according to this logic.

[Question] The Fatah Revolutionary Council said it assassinated Issam Sartaoui. Is this true? If so, why was this done?

[Answer] Yes, we assassinated Sartaoui, because he exceeded the strategic line our people accept as a whole. He had become a traitor to the people and their cause. He was also the representative of a handful of spies and reactionary agents directly linked with the interests of the American imperialists and the Zionists.

Sartaoui was an agent recruited by the United States, the British and Zionist intelligence. He had no links at all with the nationalist point of view.

Those who are saddened by his execution, those who encourage dialogue between the murderous invaders and their victims, should remember their own history, and how they resolved the problem of Nazism and its agents.

[Question] You have been accused of bombing synagogues. What distinction do you make between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism?

[Answer] Anti-Semitism is a position which was adopted during the social struggles which accompanied industrial development, during the transition to capitalism in Europe. The antagonism directed at the Jews within European societies did not come about because they are Semites or adherents of a specific religion. This antagonism came about because of their economic role within the societies.

But the Zionist movement is the political framework which expresses the interests of a Jewish bourgeoisie seeking the material and spiritual base which will allow it to exploit the Jews and to defy the national states which have been established in Europe. The Zionist movement invented the proposal of seizing Palestine through the German colonial, then British and finally American influence. Thus the clash with Zionism came about because of the aggressive role played against our people.

Opposition to Zionism and anti-Semitism cannot possibly be compared.

The Arabs are Semites. We are not against the Jews as such, and we are not against the presence of Jews.

The Zionist movement, with the aid of colonialism, divided Palestine on an ethnic basis. The imperialists and the Zionists today have an interest in maintaining that division.

The essence of our struggle calls for the liberation of Palestine from the presence of the imperialists and Zionists, in order to reunify Palestine on the basis of a unified Arab nation without any ethnic or racist concept, and without any exploitation of man by man. Thus the armed struggle to liberate Palestine represents the interests of the Jewish citizens too. On the contrary, the Zionist movement sees the Jewish citizen as a sort of fuel for its aggressive war. We cannot remain indifferent to the Zionist crimes committed daily against our people, and we cannot become the victims of an illusory rationalism concerning the blood of our children. Instead, we counterattack when we deem it necessary. These counterattacks are imposed by the existing forms of struggle, what we call "armed propaganda," as a part of the development of our struggle. Without a doubt there are innocent people who suffer, but the Zionist movement is responsible.

[Question] Whenever a bomb explodes in France, Abu Nidal is accused. What is your answer to this, and do you think that terrorism is an effective means of seeking the liberation of Palestine?

[Answer] It has been proved to the French officials that local French anti-Zionist forces were responsible for the majority of the explosions in France. This phenomenon should not be taken lightly, because it reflects a growing awareness of the true nature of the Zionist movement. The Zionist organizations and their sympathizers exaggerate the effects of these incidents, and use all their skill in controlling the mass media. We are surprised that the French and the Europeans in general justify Zionist crimes, but have a tendency to inflate minor incidents directed against the Zionists. When the Zionists commit crimes of this magnitude, they should expect violent reactions on the part of those whose awareness does not allow them to remain silent.

We have no problem either with France or the French people. We regard the French people with esteem and respect, and we believe the Zionist movement when it kills children and poisons hundreds of our daughters.

Where what is called terrorism is concerned, we believe that there is no other means of combating Zionism than armed struggle. We believe that it is an objective necessity to punish the traitors. Is that terrorism? We are not concerned about terminology. The imperialists practice mass killing and exploitation of the people. They do not want the exploited to use violence and they want the masses to accept the law of the jungle so as to safeguard imperialist interests. The American imperialists do not call the repressive steps taken by the reactionary regimes "terrorism," but the revolutionary struggle of the people bears that name. We will persevere in our armed struggle and destroy this Zionist-imperialist alliance in our country.

[Question] Do you believe that Europe can aid the Palestinian cause, or do you disagree on this point with the PLO efforts to create a good image in the West?

[Answer] Europe can do much for the Palestinian cause, but there are many things which should be done for Europe first. It is subjected to the alliance

of the United States and the Zionists, and this constraint imposes a position on Europe contrary to its own interests. Europe must be capable of freeing itself from these constraints. The Arab and European peoples have many common interests, which means that the European people should support the struggle of our people.

Where the position of the leaders of the PLO is concerned, we cannot accept the "entrepreneur" mentality they are peddling on all sides. The leaders of the PLO believe that if they pursue the reactionary political line of Saudi Arabia, they can obtain what they want, but these PLO leaders are inconsistent and lack political principles, depending solely on their skill in maneuvering and evading maneuvers. This kind of policy cannot bring the interests of the Palestinians closer to those of the Europeans.

[Question] Do you make a distinction between the position of the United States and that of Western Europe?

[Answer] We make a clear distinction between the two. A number of nations in Western Europe are pursuing a policy similar to that of the United States. We believe that divergent interests will lead to a clearer outline of the situation.

The Zionist movement relies on the United States and has merged with the interests of monopolistic capital. The Zionist weapons in Europe are the same as the capitalist weapons of the United States. This situation is thus a part of the United States and Zionist strategy of alliance. Therefore we believe that the interests of the European people have many points in common with those of the Arabs.

[Question] Do you term Yassar Arafat a traitor to the Palestinian cause?

[Answer] Arafat is a part of the strategy of the United States and Zionism. He appears to be different where certain details are concerned but he has become a tool in the hands of those who are planning a reactionary solution to the conflict between the Arabs and the Zionists. His leadership has created chaos and destroyed the beginnings of organized activity, and an inconsistent program of politically maneuvering struggles and compromise continues. After 18 years of struggle, what has the movement under his leadership accomplished? It has oriented the Palestinian cause toward a compromise solution between the reactionary Arab regimes and the Zionist enemy under the United States umbrella. This is the judgment of the mass of the Palestinian people. Thus we are persuaded that his movement will not succeed, because its main characteristic involves maneuvering, bribery and capitulation.

Arafat has no choice other than to withdraw.

[Question] There are Palestinians who believe in the possibility of coexistence between two nations. Do you believe that the destruction of the state of Israel is the main goal for creating a Palestinian nation "in its place?"

[Answer] It is not a question of political conditions for coexistence, whether there are two states or more. The problem is the present conditions of coexistence themselves. Oppression and exploitation do not create conditions for coexistence. First of all, the Zionist body has always represented the forces of aggression which have historically subjected our people to catastrophe and poverty. Secondly, the Jewish pioneers in Palestine have since the beginning been a tool of aggression and slaves to the aggressive spirit which the Zionist structure has forged. Only the interests of the peoples themselves create the conditions for coexistence and peace. Not agreements which are likely to collapse at any time, particularly because it is precisely these agreements which maintain aggression.

The liberation of the Arab masses from the yoke of imperialism and the liberation of the Jews from their role as aggressor--this is the only means of achieving peace.

These common interests cannot be resolved except by armed struggle, with the participation of the Jews on the side of the Arab masses. By this means alone can the ideological and political structures which are destroying the Middle East as a whole be brought down.

[Question] Last November, there was a meeting between the head of French security and Abu Iyad, who explained to the French government that you were preparing a series of bombings in France. What do you think about this meeting?

[Answer] Abu Iyad is a vulgar capitulationist who is the victim of organized disinformation created jointly by the Mossad and the French minister of security, in order to augment his credibility in the European countries, above all those governed by social democratic parties. Thus we would like to take this opportunity to state that:

1. The information he provided consisted of a series of lies and distortions of fact proving the moral condition and political degeneracy of that man and the group he represents.
2. We have explained to the French authorities, through the Arab groups and parties which maintain relations with the Socialist International or with the present French administration, that we have not attacked and we will not attack French or Italian interests or any interests whatsoever within or outside their countries. We have also warned them that we will not allow the Zionist movements to practice genocide and terrorism against the Palestinians and Arabs in their countries. We have also warned them that our organization will retaliate firmly against such activities, without affecting the citizens of their respective countries.
3. Despite the persistent animosity shown by the French administration, during the last 6 months toward the bodies combating the Palestinian Arabs, through the channel of its communications media and its police campaigns, and despite the intervention in the internal affairs of our people, we have not undertaken

any activities in conflict with our stated positions and the positions we submitted to the French administration.

If the French authorities are ready to understand our point of view, directly or through the intermediary of their friends, we are willing.

At Group Headquarters

Paris LIBERATION in French 25 Apr 83 p 19

[Article by Sorj Chalandon: "At Abu Nidal's Headquarters in Baghdad"]

[Text] Baghdad--A corner building on a poorly lighted street, a few hundred meters from Revolution Square. In no way like a bunker. A white two-story building protected by a wall with a corrugated tin roof and garish white lighting which illuminates all of the shadows passing in the dark.

There was a moment of hesitation when it came to entering the building. A man in his fifties in military fatigues came to the door, studied the five French journalists facing him, shook hands, turned and signalled us to follow him. No search, no suspicious look, no visible sidearms. A nice little man with a shuffling step who asked us to sit down until coffee could be served. A large hall with numerous closed doors leading to little offices. Hanging on the wall there were many photographs of "martyrs of the Palestinian cause." Some fell in Beirut, others in Jordan or in the occupied territories. In a prominent place in each room was the portrait of Mahmoud Saleh, former director of the Palestine Book Store, who was shot down in the heart of Paris in 1977 just after locking up his shop.

There was no particular tension. Our host was on the telephone, visibly annoyed at having to make us wait. He spoke of the journalists waiting and asked that someone make us welcome. A young Palestinian came into the office, wearing camouflage trousers, a combat jacket and a smile. He put a letter on the desk and left again immediately, passing a man in street clothes. There were handshakes, smiles and a few words of welcome. This man had an automatic pistol tucked into the back waistband of his jeans.

The coffee was placed on little tables before a word had been spoken. There had not even been any introductions yet and it was not certain, moreover, that we had the right address. On the walls were numerous posters one commonly sees in Palestinian premises, and a map marked in the four traditional Palestinian colors on which Israel was not shown.

We moved to another room. The Palestinian asked us to make ourselves comfortable. There were three men present: one was seated behind his desk, another sat in an armchair, and the third remained at the door. The first was named William. He was to translate into Arabic all that would be said--absolutely everything, including jokes. The man near the door was Salah, and facing us was Youssef, introduced as a leader of the movement.

What movement? The name had not yet been mentioned. "This office," Youssef began, "provides social services for the Palestinians and their martyrs. If you want a meeting or other information, we can arrange that for you in the Bekaa Valley." After a few moments of silence, Youssef continued. "Our movement is called the Fatah"--here there was a pause--"Revolutionary Council." There was a sigh from the journalists present in the room. It was the right address and no one was surprised when Youssef gave the name of his superiors--"Abu Nidal and Abdulrahman Issa, spokesmen for the movement." When asked if Abu Nidal was in Baghdad at the time, he shook his head and said very simply: "No, he is in the Bekaa Valley, but if you want to see him we can arrange an interview." The journalists registered surprise, while he asked us for an address in Baghdad so as to follow up our request. For the time being, he was very sorry, but he was not authorized to answer any questions we might ask him. On the other hand, if we would write out our questions, he would get the answers to us from the headquarters--no matter where--within 2 days. Movements of the group in Europe are no more of a problem than crossing the street outside to reach the edge of the Tigris. There was a rustling of paper, a search for a pen and immediate questions. No one had contemplated our call from this point of view. Finding the headquarters of Abu Nidal in premises with easy access was already sufficiently extraordinary, not to mention our being welcomed as if it were a post office, with no more security than if we had come to buy stamps. When we raised the question of language, so as to know whether to write out the questions in French or in English, William laughed aloud and Youssef said that whatever language was used, they would translate without the slightest difficulty.

Each question was posed orally and in writing. William wrote, Youssef listened, his head in his hands, while Salah looked on calmly. The scene resembled that in a cosmopolitan drawing room. It was hard to come back to reality, and we had to repeat to ourselves very quickly: "We are in the headquarters of Abu Nidal in Baghdad" in order to believe it.

William wrote down the names given him by the group of journalists--Copernicus, Rue des Rosiers, Issam Sertoui--without blinking. This most recent attack, for which a tract at the very gates of the University of Baghdad claimed credit for Nidal's group, was featured on the front page of their brand new publication--a white cover bearing the visage of Sertoui, angrily crossed out in red.

On the wall there was an astonishing poster. In a circle in the center was a photograph of the corpses at Chatila, and on the sides, four pictures of Arafat awkwardly mounted on a horse, fur hat firmly set on his head. The angry caption said roughly "While the Zionist enemy assassinates our people, Arafat goes riding."

When we mentioned the interview between Abu Iyad and our secretary of state for public safety, without mentioning his name, William spoke of Joseph Franceschi in interpreting our question for Youssef. There was a general impression that nothing escapes them and of the ordinariness of the premises, the attitudes, the welcome, the security. The farewell handshake was also

commonplace. No plots, no sidewise glances. Indeed there was a Palestinian at the door of the premises, Kalashnikov in hand because night had fallen, and indeed another followed us for several hundred meters. But also, by way of a souvenir and as any other business or advertising group might do, Abu Nidal's group, the Fatah Revolutionary Council, responsible for murderous attacks in Europe and elsewhere, offered its visiting guests key rings displaying the colors of the movement.

Iraqis Admit Leader's Presence

Paris LIBERATION in French 25 Apr 83 p 20

[Article by Jose Garcon: "As Happy as Abu Nidal in Iraq"]

[Text] "He is a Palestinian like any other. He has no homeland and it is our duty to welcome him like all the other Palestinians. All of the Palestinian organizations have headquarters in Baghdad, including the group of Abu Nidal. This was how the Iraqi minister of information explained the attitude of his country toward the Palestinian dissident sentenced to death by the PLO to the special correspondent of LIBERATION and four other French journalists in Baghdad several days ago.

This is not a new argument: for a number of months now, Saddam Husayn, the Iraqi chief of state, has himself admitted that Abu Nidal could live as a refugee in Baghdad. Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz took up the same subject, in turn, in the course of a press conference held in Paris, explaining that all Palestinians may enter Iraq, without a visa, at will.

After taking pains to reiterate that Abu Nidal was not in Baghdad, and that he could more likely be found in the neighborhood of Damascus, the Iraqi leaders now admitted the presence of his organization in their country, while at the same time playing it down.

No Iraqi, it is true, has access to the "network" which enabled the journalists to visit the headquarters of Abu Nidal in Baghdad. But it is hard to believe that, in a country like Iraq, where the thorny question of the Palestinian dissident is involved, that the Iraqis did not, at one time or another, approve, if not the visit to his headquarters, at least the exchange of "written questions and subsequent answers."

To the extent that the presence of Abu Nidal in Baghdad has become widely known publicly (the "area" in which he lives when he is in the Iraqi capital is known, and his newspaper is mailed from Baghdad), it no longer serves any purpose to deny this presence. It is better to somewhat "minimize" the fact by stating that the Fatah Revolutionary Council organization does in fact have an office in Baghdad, but only that, and not training camps. In addition there is no secret about this, the Iraqis may explain, because they do not take any steps to prevent journalists from visiting it. Where Abu Nidal himself is concerned, "he is not in Baghdad but in the Bekaa Valley."

This "location" of Nidal in the Lebanese plain represents a good means of "involving" Syria as well by suggesting that the Palestinian dissident is working with Damascus. In view of the presence of Syrian forces in Lebanon, in fact, it is hard to imagine that Abu Nidal could be there without Syrian approval.

The present attitude of Iraq toward Abu Nidal nonetheless seems near the edge of irrationality. Baghdad makes no mystery of its relations with the Palestinian dissident at a time when in fact its relations with Yasser Arafat are almost stabilized and at a time when the Iraqi leaders are participants in a negotiated solution to the Near East conflict. To the point of representing themselves henceforth as "moderates," after having practically recognized the right of Israel to exist.

However, this "irrationality" is dictated by certain entirely concrete considerations. Iraq is without a doubt no longer bound today by the old precautions where the problems of "terrorism" are concerned. The United States in fact crossed that country off the list of "nations which encourage terrorism" more than a year ago, thus enabling Baghdad to benefit again from American shipments of planes or replacement parts.

Abu Nidal is close, moreover, to the kind of "mercenary killer" which any of the Arab countries--including Iraq or Syria--might need at one time or another. The Palestinian dissident who claimed credit for the assassination of Issam Sartaoui does not in fact have terrorizing Europeans as his sole "function." He can also serve as a formidable means of pressure on the Arab countries--if certain Gulf countries such as Saudi Arabia or Abu Dhabi are slow, for example, in "extending" financial aid to Iraq (or Syria), or if Gulf officials were tempted to make some sort of "overture" toward Khomeyni's Iran, Abu Nidal could speedily cause them to alter their inclinations for the better by executing one of their diplomats here or there.

Finally, Iraq is not displeased to indicate, by making its aid to Abu Nidal public, that it does not intend to accept any "capitulationist solution" for the Palestinians. This aspect is not unimportant at a time when Baghdad, enmeshed with its conflict with Iran, is allied with the "moderates" in the Gulf, headed by Saudi Arabia, and when it has for all practical purposes renewed diplomatic relations with Egypt, which had been excluded from the Arab world because it signed a "separate peace" with Israel.

5157

CSO: 4419/17

AL-KHABUR RIVER IRRIGATION PROJECTS DESCRIBED

Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 12 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by Khalid al-Ashhab: "The Transformation of 150,000 Hectares Into Irrigated Land"]

[Text] Al-Khabur River basin project is a step along the path of the agricultural revolution. Irrigation networks extend for 440 kilometers.

The year 1983 is the "year of agriculture" in Syria. This statement which was confirmed by the Higher Agricultural Council, reaffirms the great importance which is attached to the matter of agriculture in our country. The reason for this is that agriculture constitutes a basic and important part of the structure of our national economy. But in order for agriculture to really play this role, we must employ as well as possible the principal tool of agriculture--the land--and we must employ as well as possible the most important factor for utilization of the land--water. In addition to this, we must utilize modern agricultural technology as well as set up a system of cooperatives, and we must work with this system of cooperatives in the field of agriculture in accordance with the directives of the [Ba'th] Party.

The Euphrates Dam is considered to be the greatest achievement by the Revolution of 8 March to promote agriculture in Syria. The second most important project concerning utilization of water resources in the country--second only to the Euphrates Dam project--is the project for irrigation of the land in the Khabur River basin. This latter project will help provide great forward momentum for our agricultural economy if we achieve the objectives we hope to achieve by setting it up--objectives which involve full utilization of the water of al-Khabur River.

Last Thursday during the celebrations marking the 20th anniversary of the March Revolution, our prime minister, Dr 'Abd-al-Ra'uf al'Kasm, laid the cornerstone for the project for the irrigation of the lands in the basin of the Khabur River in the district of Ra's al-'Ayn in the province of al'Hasakah.

Irrigation of 150,000 Hectares of Land

According to a report submitted by the Land Reclamation Directorate concerning the stages and purpose of setting up the project, the plan calls for development of the northeastern part of the country. This is to be achieved by irrigating approximately 150,000 hectares of fertile land, extending from the town of Ra's al-'Ayn to beyond the town of al-Suwar in the province of Dayr al-Zawr, by means of utilization of the flow of al-Khabur River. Surface water resources [in al-Khabur River basin] are estimated at 1.6 billion cubic meters, and ground water resources are estimated at up to 400 million cubic meters of water. This will involve redistribution of the annual flow of the river, in accordance with an irrigation schedule, by means of utilizing reservoirs of sufficient storage capacity which will be served by the following three dams: 1. Western al-Hasakah dam; 2. Eastern al-Hasakah dam; 3. al-Khabur dam.

As for which phases of the project have been implemented so far, since the beginning of 1982 work has begun on the second and third phases. These two phases have involved completing the final designing of the project as well as the plans for implementing all parts of the project. There are three principal areas covered by the project, and they can either operate together as a working unit or can operate independently of each other.

The First Area and the Irrigation of 42,000 Hectares of Land

This area extends from the springs of Ra's al-'Ayn to the Western al-Hasakah dam. In this area the water from the current of the river alone will be used to provide irrigation for 42,000 hectares of land, and this area will have the following installations:

1. The outlet for the water from Ra's al-'Ayn, which will cost an estimated 50 million Syrian pounds.
2. The main canal called M1-1 and the fields which it will irrigate. This canal will be 64 kilometers long, and will have a maximum rate of flow of 45 cubic meters per second.
3. The siphoning channel. This siphoning channel will branch out from Canal M1-2 in order to feed Canal M1-1. It will be 3 kilometers long, will flow into al-Khabur River at its right bank, and will have a maximum rate of flow of 5,400 cubic meters per hour.
4. The main canal called M1-1 and the fields which it will irrigate. The length of the canal will be 44 kilometers, and it will have a maximum rate of flow of 15 cubic meters per second.

The overall cost of the first area will be 1.3 billion Syrian pounds, and the projects in this area are expected to be completed by 1988.

Storage of 324 Million Cubic Meters of Water

The second area covers the lands irrigated by the Western al-Hasakah dam and the Eastern al-Hasakah dam. The total amount of land involved here is an estimated 49,450 hectares, and this area will include the following installations:

1. The Western al-Hasakah dam, with a storage capacity of 92 million cubic meters of water.
2. An electric power station, with a capacity of 12.5 megawatts.
3. The Eastern al-Hasakah dam, with a storage capacity of 232 million cubic meters of water.
4. Pumping Station Number 7, a large pumping station which will feed Canal M2-4. This canal will be about 50 kilometers long, and will have a maximum rate of flow of 32 cubic meters of water per second.
5. Canal M2-3, which will be 30 kilometers long and will have a maximum rate of flow of 12 cubic meters of water per second.
6. Irrigation and drainage networks, roads, industrial works, and pumping stations.

The overall cost for implementing the projects of this area will be about 1.5 billion Syrian pounds, and they will be completed during the implementation of the initial phase and by the end of 1990.

Irrigation of 46,450 Hectares of Land

The third area involves the land irrigated by al-Khabur dam, which will be located 20 kilometers south of al-Hasakah. The total amount of land involved here is about 46,450 hectares, and this area will have the following installations:

1. Al-Khabur dam, with a maximum storage capacity of 665 million cubic meters of water.
2. An electric power station with a capacity of 8 megawatts.
3. A number of pumping stations.
4. Main irrigation networks, the total length of which will be about 300 kilometers.
5. Various industrial installations for the network. Implementation of this phase will cost a total of 2.2 billion Syrian pounds, and implementation of this phase is expected to begin during 1990.

Implementation of the entire overall project will cost approximately 5 billion Syrian pounds.

It should be mentioned that the springs of Ra's al-Ayn which were mentioned above are about 90 kilometers away from the city of al-Hasakah and all around the springs and to the south of them there are vast areas of fertile plains. These springs are where the work of the first phase will begin--involving the construction of the main canal, called M1-2.

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SYRIAN PRESS PUBLICATIONS SURVEYED

Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 8 Mar 83 p 11

[Article prepared by AL-THAWRAH's Cultural Division: "The Syrian Press After the Revolution of 8 March"]

[Text] The media of the revolution constitute a rear-line weapon in the confrontation and battle with the enemy.

We were talking about the press and the informational media. One of my older colleagues talked at length about newspapers in the past, about how they were constantly increasing in number, and about how the masses used to choose their newspapers and follow what was in them. When listening to him talk about this, one got the impression that our present-day press is different from the press of those days. This is definitely something which is true, because our present-day press does differ from the press of the past which was a press run by traditional parties and establishments as well as by people who wielded great influence. In short, the press of the past was a commercial press, the basic concern of which was to earn profits or else to cover expenses by means of the money which it charged for advertisements, by means of money brought in through subscriptions, and sometimes by means of money which came directly to the press establishments, and this enabled these newspapers to continue to promote some of the political concepts which were being circulated at the time.

Quite often you run across someone who talks to you and tells you about the press of bygone days and how many newspapers there were then. Such talk almost makes a person believe that there is no more press these days because there are so few newspapers. Only three newspapers are published by the Ministry of Information and the [Ba'th] Party, whereas in the past there were more than 30 daily and weekly newspapers.

This is what impelled me to write about the development of the press and press establishments in our country, and this is why I feel impelled to correct [some misconceptions about] the number of publications which exists. I only ask that the readers forgive me for not having dug up statistics, documentary evidence, information about when these publications started coming out, how many copies of them are printed, how large their distribution is, and other statistical information which requires that one spend a long time to dig up. Furthermore, such statistical information is perhaps of no use in our present discussion anyway. Let us pause and take a look at our informational media establishments and our press:

AL-BA'TH

On 3 July 1946 the first issue of the newspaper AL-BA'TH [the Renaissance] came out. It is the newspaper which expresses the views of the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party and its National Command.

AL-BA'TH has taken its place in the political arena as the best weapon which the Ba'th Party has to propagate its opinions and ideas and have them reach Arab citizens and the Arab masses both inside and outside Syria.

AL-BA'TH used to be a weekly, and sometimes it was even forced to cease publication because the authorities prohibited it. It was the newspaper which was closest to the masses and to the people.

AL-BA'TH managed to remain steadfast in the face of the opposition of the traditional politicians who were always attempting to shut down its presses and imprison its writers, readers, and distributors. This newspaper started appearing regularly after the Revolution of 8 March [1963].

I still recall the old offices of AL-BA'TH and some of my colleagues who worked for the newspaper in the past. They worked there because they were nationalistically motivated to do so, and material gains were the last thing which they expected to receive in return for working there. Most of the time they worked there free of charge and on a volunteer basis.

In the old days only a handful of people worked in the newspaper's editorial office, tables were something which was scarce, and chairs were even scarcer. However, people put a great deal of effort into their work because the challenge which they faced was so great.

Today already about 37 years have passed since the first issue of AL-BA'TH came out, and we find that the newspaper has developed and changed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The Al-Ba'th Publishing House now rivals many of the international press establishments. In addition to publishing the daily newspaper AL-BA'TH, this publishing house publishes publications and books put out by both the National Command and the Regional Command of the Ba'th Party.

The Al-Ba'th Publishing House also publishes the magazine called AL-MUNADIL [the Struggler] as well as some newspapers and magazines put out by popular organizations.

But the development and change undergone by the Al-Ba'th Publishing House concerned not only what press publications it puts out. It has also experienced a printing revolution. Right now it possesses the best and most modern printing equipment. Most of the school textbooks which our children are using have been printed by the Al-Ba'th Publishing House.

Currently the Al-Ba'th Publishing House is also planning to put out additional publications, such as a weekly magazine and a monthly magazine. And as for the development and change undergone by the newspaper AL-BA'TH, one can say that there has been development of at least 500 percent in this newspaper.

The Al-Wahdah Press Establishment

On 1 June 1963 there appeared the first issue of the newspaper called AL-THAWRAH [the Revolution], put out by the Al-Wahdah [Unity] Press Establishment. This press establishment has undertaken to publish many newspapers and periodicals as well as to implement the national and socialist media policy of both the revolution and the [Ba'th] Party.

Some readers think that the Al-Wahdah Press Establishment only puts out AL-THAWRAH. We would like to list the newspapers and periodicals put out by this press establishment, and they are the following:

AL-THAWRAH - a political daily published in Damascus.
AL-MAWQIF AL-RIYADI [the Sports Scene] - a weekly published in Damascus.
AL-'URUBAH [the Arab World] - a political daily published by the Homs branch of the Al-Wahdah Press Establishment.
AL-FIDA' [Self-Sacrifice] - a political daily published by the Hamah branch of the Al-Wahdah Press Establishment.
AL-JAMAHIR [the Masses] - a political daily published by the Aleppo branch of the Al-Wahdah Press Establishment.

It should be mentioned that the Al-Wahdah Press Establishment has also undergone great quantitative and qualitative development. It now has modern printing presses and publishes school textbooks, literary books, scientific and academic books, and other official and non-official publications.

We must also mention the fact that the Al-Wahdah Press Establishment used to publish weekly magazines as well as weekly supplements. It also used to participate in the publication and printing of newspapers put out by mass organizations and educational institutions. The following are some of these magazines and newspapers which used to be put out by the Al-Wahdah Press Establishment:

AL-MAWQIF AL-RIYADI - which at first was a weekly supplement and then was transformed into a weekly magazine.
SURIYAH AL-'ARABIYAH [Arab Syria] - which used to be published in more than one language, such as French and English. It was a semi-monthly magazine, and was then transformed into a monthly magazine.
Weekly supplements such as the Sunday Cultural Supplement [mulhaq al-ahad al-thaqafi], the Arts Supplement [al-mulhaq al-fanni], the Political Supplement [al-mulhaq al-siyasi] which appeared from 1965 to 1969, and the Scientific Supplement [al-mulhaq al-'ilmi]. These supplements used to appear at irregular intervals and ceased publication from time to time.

RAFI' [Lifter] - a children's weekly magazine. This magazine served its purpose and enjoyed great popularity and success among children.

Currently the Al-Wahdah Press Establishment is preparing to put out a daily newspaper in the Province of al-Ladhiqiyah, and the necessary installations and equipment have already been set up at the newspaper headquarters to do this. The Al-Wahdah Press Establishment has also announced that it is sponsoring a contest for the purpose of choosing the editors and workers who will be putting out this newspaper. We should mention the fact that the Al-Wahdah Press Establishment is the only press establishment which is authorized to publish newspapers in the provinces.

The Newspaper TISHRIN

The newspaper TISHRIN [November] is put out by the Tishrin Press Establishment. It is now in its eighth year of publication, and is one of the most advanced newspapers in terms of technical resources.

During the last 8 years the Tishrin Press Establishment acquired the basic resources which it has, such as the printing presses and newspaper personnel, to put out its newspaper. The newspaper is now put out independently, whereas for a considerable period of time it was printed on the printing presses of the Al-Wahdah Press Establishment.

In addition to putting out TISHRIN, the Tishrin Press Establishment also publishes a daily newspaper in English which is called SYRIA TIMES.

Within a short period of time the Tishrin Press Establishment has also succeeded in opening up branch offices in all of the provinces, and it also has stationed a number of correspondents in both Arab and foreign countries.

The Syrian Arab News Agency [SANA]

Syrian newspapers, for their news sources, used to rely directly on the news items that were furnished by foreign press agencies such as UPI, AP, AFP [Agence France-Presse], Reuters, Tass, and other agencies. For gathering local news, Syrian newspapers had to rely on correspondents at the various [government] offices and organizations.

But after the establishment of SANA Syria began to have its own established and uniform media policy both inside and outside the country. At the present time news disseminated by SANA reaches the far corners of the earth, and SANA has media agreements with the foreign press agencies, and this helps to achieve a just and balanced dissemination of the news in terms of quantity and quality.

It should be mentioned that SANA is now preparing to publish daily bulletins in both English and French which will cover basic and important news, especially news concerning the foreign diplomatic corps.

Miscellaneous Press Publications

In addition to these official press publications and the publications put out by press establishments directly connected with the Ministry of Information or the National Command of the Ba'th Party, there are some weekly and monthly newspapers and magazines put out by professional and mass organizations, some of which are the following:

AL-MAWQIF AL-ADABI [the Literary Scene] - a monthly magazine published by the Arab Writers Federation in Damascus.
AL-ADAB AL-AJNABIYAH [Foreign Literature] - a quarterly magazine also published by the Arab Writers Federation.
AL-TURATH [the Heritage] - a quarterly magazine also published by the Arab Writers Federation.
AL-MA'RIFAH [Knowledge] - a monthly magazine published by the Ministry of Culture and National Guidance
AL-HAYAH AL-MASRAHIYAH [Theater Life], AL-HAYAH AL-SINAMA'IYAH [Cinema Life], and AL-HAYAH AL-TASHKILIYAH [Fine Arts Life] - quarterly magazines published by the Ministry of Culture and its organizations
AL-MAR'AH AL-'ARABIYAH [the Arab Woman] - a semi-monthly magazine published by the General Federation of Women.
HUNA DIMASHQ [Here is Damascus] - a semi-monthly magazine published by the Directorate General of Radio and Television.
JIL AL-THAWRAH [Generation of the Revolution] - a weekly newspaper published by the Federation of Students
AL-MASIRAH [the March] - a weekly newspaper published by the Federation of Youth Organizations.
KIFAH AL-'UMMAL AL-ISHTIRAKI [the Workers Socialist Struggle] - a weekly newspaper published by the General Federation of Workers.
NIDAL AL-FALLAHIN [the Peasants Struggle] - a weekly newspaper published by the General Federation of Peasant Workers
AL-IQTISAD [the Economy] - a quarterly or monthly magazine published by the Ministry of Economy and Foreign Trade.
AL-TIJARAH WA AL-TAMWIN [Commerce and Supply] - a monthly magazine published by the Ministry of Supply and Internal Trade.
AL-TAYARAN [Aviation] - a monthly magazine published by the Syrian Arab Aviation Company.
AL-JUNDI AL-'ARABI [Arab Soldier] and JAYSH AL-SHA'B [the People's Army] - two magazines published by the Political Department of the Army and the Armed Forces.
SAWT AL-MU'ALLIMIN [Voice of the Teachers] - a monthly magazine published by the Teachers' Union.
AL-MU'ALLIM AL-'ARABI [Arab Teacher] - a monthly magazine also published by the Teachers' Union.
AL-NAFT AL-'ARABI [Arab Oil] - a quarterly magazine published by the Ministry of Oil and Mineral Wealth.
MAJALLAT AL-SHURTAH [Police Journal] - a monthly magazine published by the Political Department of the Security Forces.

These are only a few of the vast number of publications. Nearly every union or professional organization puts out some sort of periodical or weekly publication. Also, most of the ministries have begun to put out numerous journals and publications. Another thing is that the various provinces in Syria and the local administration councils have also started putting out magazines such as AL-JABAL [the Mountain], which is a magazine published by al-Suwayda' Provincial Council. In fact, it has become a difficult job to draw up a complete list of these media publications, and they have developed and changed tremendously, both quantitatively and qualitatively, from what such publications were like in the past.

Newspapers in the past used to promote incorrect trends and policies, but by now the media have advanced to the point where they adhere to the media strategy of the revolution and the [Ba'th] Party. This strategy could be summed up as follows:

Adoption of the mottoes of the Ba'th Party, which stands for unity, freedom, and socialism.

Opposition to chauvinist, regionalist, and reactionary attempts which have been made to dilute the Arab struggle, lead it astray, and drag it into hopeless labyrinths.

Liberation of Arab individuals and consequently liberation of Arab society from all vestiges of imperialism.

Calling for the application of socialism throughout the Arab world since pan-Arab nationalism and socialism are two concepts which complement each other in the struggle to liberate the Arab world from its present situation.

Contributing toward the disclosure of mistakes and furnishing constructive criticism with regard to the course of the revolution both inside and outside the country.

This has only been a cursory presentation of Syria's publications, and I am sure that there are many other publications (especially weekly and periodical publications) which I have forgotten to mention. Has this presentation not served as conclusive proof of the development and change which has taken place in this country's press since the Revolution of 8 March? I will leave the answer to this question up to our readers.

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AFGHAN RESISTANCE WEAKENED BY ABSENCE OF UNITY

Foreign Assistance Obstructs Unity

Paris LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE in French Apr 83 pp 18-19

[Article by Pierre Metge, researcher at the Interdisciplinary Center for Research on Peace and Strategic Studies (CIRPES)]

[Text] After 3 years of Soviet occupation, diplomatic activity in an effort to find a solution to the Afghan problem seems to be intensifying. This is evidenced by the audiences granted by Mr Andropov, secretary general of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, following the Brezhnev funeral ceremonies, to Mrs Gandhi, the prime minister of India, General Zia-ul-Haq, president of Pakistan, and Mr Karmal, chief of state and prime minister of Afghanistan; the trip made by Undersecretary General of the UN Cordovez to Islamabad, Kabul and Tehran; the invitation issued by Mr Andropov to Secretary General of the United Nations Perez de Cuellar, and Undersecretary Cordovez to visit Moscow at the end of March; and the announcement of talks in Geneva in April under the sponsorship of the United Nations, with Afghans, Iranians and Pakistanis participating.¹ There are some who have suddenly begun to hope that a political solution, if not imminent, could at least be envisioned in the near future. However, the international picture and the situation on the spot urge greater caution.

The diplomats did not await the changes on the top level of the CPSU before attempting to settle the Soviet-Afghan conflict. The proposal of the secretary general of the United Nations, to mention only one, was a response to an appeal from Pakistan at the beginning of 1981 for the "appointment of a special representative" by Mr Waldheim, who would be responsible for undertaking to consult with the Afghan, Iranian and Pakistani authorities. Less than 4 months later, Mr Perez de Cuellar, appointed to carry out this task, visited first Islamabad and then Kabul to launch these consultations. He returned there in August of that same year. A short time after his election as secretary general of the UN, he entrusted the task of continuing his efforts to Mr Cordovez. In April of 1982, Mr Cordovez visited the capitals of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran, in turn. On 16 June, in Geneva, he attempted to engage the representatives of the three countries in discussions, but Iran backed out at the last minute. Finally, on 9 September 1982, Messrs Perez de Cuellar and Cordovez traveled to Moscow to meet with Soviet leaders there. Shortly afterward, they announced the main guidelines of their peace plan: withdrawal of the Soviet troops, nonintervention by foreign

powers, international guarantees and the voluntary return of the refugees. However, all of this activity had only resulted in a modest advance, and Mr Perez de Cuellar said last November that this activity had only "made it possible to define the positions of the parties in detail, to identify the points of agreement and to develop ideas concerning the structure and the context of an overall settlement."

At the beginning of 1981, it already appeared that the Soviet Union would not achieve its goals by military means. Only a political solution could be contemplated and accepted by the international community. Nonetheless a settlement would have to be achieved under honorable conditions for the USSR and it would have to safeguard its interests to the south of the Amu Darya.

Noticeably absent from Afghanistan since the British retreat in 1919, the Western nations would not normally have any objections in principle.

The Americans succeeded, it is true, in establishing relations of confidence with the Afghan leaders during World War II, but they were not able, and doubtless could not have been, to maintain them subsequently, and they took no steps to counteract the overtures made by Stalin's successors toward President Daoud. They did not believe at that time that Afghanistan was essential to the "northern tier" which was to close the circle around the Soviet Union by linking the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, already established, and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, in the process of preparation, with the participation of Turkey, Iran and Pakistan.² In that era of cold war and defense pacts, failing to win over a country was equivalent to abandoning it to the adversary, more particularly if it was a boundary nation.

The visit paid by Krushchev and Bulganin to Kabul at the end of 1955 sealed a closer relationship which was reflected the following year in shipments of weapons, the first from the USSR to a country outside the socialist bloc. The subsequent changes in the regime in Afghanistan posed no challenge either to the privileges of the Soviets or the disinterest on the part of the Western nations. The arrival of Russian troops in December of 1979 to rescue a friendly regime on the edge of collapse was therefore no different from the intervention by other great powers in their zones of influence--for example by the United States in Latin America, or by France in Africa--although equally reprehensible.

In fact, there are very few countries in the international community which are ready to do anything for "the free determination of the peoples (Afghan) and the return (of Afghanistan) to real and guaranteed nonalignment."³ The Iranians denounce "the occupation of Afghanistan by the USSR, (which) serves its interests in that region and those of the Americans."⁴ The Pakistanis believe that "for the security of the Soviet Union, a pro-Soviet Afghanistan, which would not necessarily be a satellite of the USSR, should be able to exist."⁵ As to the Chinese, they do not, for the future, see "any contradiction" between "the support and the strengthening of the struggle of the Afghan people against the aggressive troops" and "the efforts with a view to a political solution."⁶

The respective positions of Iran and Pakistan should be no surprise. Iran, which shares a boundary more than 2,000 kilometers long with the Soviet Union, has nothing to gain from being at odds with that powerful neighbor. Therefore it is giving the Afghan resistance only limited support. As to Pakistan, the conflict developing to the north of the Durand Line places it in a delicate situation.

Islamic Movements in Pakistan

The Islamic movements, which both fanned the flames of and channeled the discontent with Ali Bhutto in Pakistan, leading to his fall in 1979, remain in fact the only political supporters of the military junta which Gen Zia-ul Haq has headed since that time. The Islamic Jami'at-e Eslami Party, which is the one among these movements that is maintaining the best relations with the junta, played a not unimportant role in the birth of the Afghan-Islamic movement and the organization of the Young Muslims, which were its first expression. It maintains close links with the resistance parties which resulted therefrom: Mr Hekmatyar's Hezb-e Eslami, Mr Khaled's Hezb-e Eslami and Mr Rabbani's Jami'at-e Eslami. Other Pakistani Muslim movements are linked with the Afghan traditionalist parties by similar bonds of solidarity. Thus it is difficult for the leaders in Islamabad to refuse aid to the resistance forces without risking the loss of the only supporters they have in the Pakistani political class.

On the other hand, in taking the side of the resistance forces, Pakistan chose confrontation with the Soviet Union. If it has not to date made any real threats along the frontier, it is because it has other means of exerting pressure. It has for a long time supported the advocates of Baluchi and Pathan autonomy, and it has not hesitated to supply and even to train some of their armed groups.⁷ In addition, it enjoys the sympathy of a faction in Ali Bhutto's old Pakistani People's Party. Thus it could at any time upset the stability of General Zia-ul Haq's regime.

Since they have long since accepted Soviet influence in Afghanistan, the neighboring countries, as well as the great powers, can expect only one thing of the USSR: withdrawal of its troops. Now, no withdrawal can be foreseen in the short run except within the context of as broad as possible a political agreement with the Afghans leading to an enduring truce with the resistance.

For the resistance has in no way been conquered, or even diminished, and it could not be excluded from any settlement. However, it has not to date been able to impose its inclusion as a political interlocutor, since it is divided into a number of rival organizations, and in addition, the ability of each of them to control its own troops has not been demonstrated.

The authoritarian intervention of Pakistan limited the parties represented in Peshawar, in principle, to six.⁸ They were the two Islamic parties (Hezb-e Eslami), those of Mr Hekmatyar and Mr Khaled; Mr Rabbani's Islamic Society (Jami'at-e Eslami); Mr Nabi Mohammadi's Islamic Revolution Movement (Harakat-e Enqelab-e Eslami); Mr Modjadedi's National Salvation Front (Djebh-e Nedjat-e Melli); and Mr Gaylani's Islamic National Front (Mahaz-e Melli-e Eslami). To

these six, two Hazara organizations were soon added: Mr Maqsoudi's Union of Islamic Combatants (Ettehadie-ye Modjahedin-e Eslami), and Mr Behechti's Revolutionary Council of Islamic Unity (Shora-ye Enqelabi-e Ettefaq-e Eslami). Then the interplay of personal rivalries gave birth, through aborted mergers and schisms, to three other groups: factions of the Islamic Revolution Movement and the National Salvation Front and Mr Sayyaf's Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan. These 11 groups are officially recognized by Pakistan, and on that basis, are included among the recipients of the aid distributed from Islamabad.

No one can challenge Pakistan's right to authorize or prohibit the activities of this or that organization on its territory. By granting the recognized parties the privilege of distributing their cards to the refugees and thus serving as guarantors of their identity and good faith, the government in Islamabad has parceled out to them their share of the 2-3 million Afghans who have fled their country, without regard for their views. It has thus acquired an indirect means of controlling the refugees, but also the possibility of favoring one of these organizations over another. For example, it is widely known that the refugee commissioner of the Northwest Frontier Province, Mr Abdullah, who is close to the Jami'at-e Eslami, openly favors Mr Hekmatyar's party, which his departments urge the newcomers to join. And this is not by far the only advantage enjoyed by the Hezb-e Eslami.⁹ Thus the legitimate right of the Pakistani authorities to exert control has become political intervention. These authorities can completely smother certain movements which they nonetheless know to be representative, but which they refuse the facilities of public action, both with regard to the refugees and on the international level. This is the case with the National United Front, which, on the basis of a program for national independence, democracy and social progress, includes political organizations, ethnic groups, autonomous units of partisans and leading personalities, and which has as members, in almost all regions, combatants who claim membership in it, openly or otherwise.

The Weight of Local Realities

Being dependent on Pakistan, which controls their relations with foreign forces, and on the Arab countries, from which the greater part of their resources comes, the recognized parties are under heavy pressure to show a united front on the international scene. As a result, they have since their creation made a number of attempts at alliance, lasting as a general rule only a few months. One cannot predict how long the coalition of the traditionalist parties of Messrs Gaylani, Modjadedi and Nabi Mohammadi (announced in December 1981) or that of the Islamist groups of Messrs Hekmatyar, Khales and Rabbani (May 1982) will last.

Whatever the case, these alliances have but limited repercussions on the spot. Often, the adherence of resistance units to this or that party reflects more a commercial affiliation than ideological and political support, and they hardly feel bound by the guidelines of their parties. In fact, it is more often local considerations and the demands of the war which determine specific military collaboration. The awareness that without a certain unification, the resistance is bound to fail is certainly becoming keener.

However, it clashes with the strategy of certain parties, in particular the Hezb-e Eslami (Hekmatyar) and the pro-Iranian Nasr, which functions in the Hazarajat. In their view, unification should be undertaken to eliminate the others, or at least subordinate them. This is the reason for the innumerable clashes occurring more or less everywhere between the Hezb-e Eslami and the National United Front and even the Jami'at-e Islami, although it is a member of the same Islamist coalition.¹⁰ In the Hazarajat, the maneuvers of the Nasr and some other Shi'ite Islamist parties caused the break-up of the alliance of all of the resistance movements within the Revolutionary Council of Islamic Unity. Opposing the traditionalists to the nationalists, they played on the weakening of the one and the exclusion of the other in an effort to seize control of the council. They did indeed fail, but they succeeded in destroying unity. The council today is but one Hazara group among many. And they are pursuing their attack in an attempt to eliminate the national forces.¹¹

For parties such as the Hezb-e Eslami or the Nasr, the elimination of their rivals has become more important today than the struggle against the occupiers. They do not hesitate to take advantage of the Soviet offensives to charge the groups being attacked from another quarter or to lay ambushes for the forces coming to reinforce them. In other cases, it is personal or tribal rivalries which gain the upper hand. For example, in Logar, where the Soviet offensives in July and September of 1982 met only weak resistance, it was not possible to establish any coordination among the various resistance groups.

All of these dissensions, to which are sometimes added incompetence and corruption, tarnish the reputations of these parties based abroad and reduce their receptive audience. Aware for the most part of their own weaknesses, they do not seem to have the resources to correct them. Thus they place great hope in an international settlement in which they would participate. And this settlement must come soon, before their star has faded too much. However, it does not seem likely that they will present themselves in a single formation, even circumstantial. Among the groups in Peshawar, the inability of the very openly royalist Mahaz-e Melli to get along with the too radically Islamic Hezb-e Eslami creates two theoretical possibilities. The Pakistanis, and above all the Iranians, would prefer a coalition with the Mahaz excluded. But the United States, which was burned by the Iranian experience, is very reticent, fearful that the Hezb-e Eslami might subsequently seek to eliminate its partners. Whatever coalition might be formed, it would leave out numerous groups which are not officially recognized, without even providing a guarantee of the capacity to impose this solution underwritten by the resistance groups it is supposed to represent.

This situation is known to all of the possible partners in any international negotiations--in particular the Pakistanis, Americans and Soviets.¹² This is why no one believes that an agreement definitively settling the Afghan issue is imminent--an agreement with the support of the Afghans themselves, putting an end to the war and to the Soviet occupation.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Iranians announced that they would not be present in Geneva.
2. See Leon B. Poullada, "Afghanistan and the United States: The Crucial Years," THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, Winter 1981, pp 178-190.
3. Mr. Mitterand, during his acceptance of the credentials of the new Pakistani ambassador on 18 June 1982.
4. Iranian Minister of Foreign Affairs Velayati, during the visit by Mr Cordovez to Tehran in January 1983.
5. General Zia-ul-Haq, during his visit to Peking in October 1982.
6. Chinese Prime Minister Ziyang Zhao, during General Zia-ul-Haq's visit in October of 1982.
7. See Selig Harrison, "In Afghanistan's Shadow: Baluch Nationalism and Soviet Temptations," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C., 1981, p 147.
8. A researcher at the University of Peshawar listed no fewer than 95 political, military and humanitarian organizations in the Afghan resistance in 1981. Asmat Hayat Khan, "Afghan Resistance and National Leadership," CENTRAL ASIA: JOURNAL OF AREA STUDY, Winter 1981, University of Peshawar, pp 163-176.
9. See John Fullerton, "A Rift Among Rebels," FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, 26 October-4 November 1982, Hong Kong.
10. The futile attacks by the Hezb-e Eslami against the National United Front in Chomali are said to have been the cause of hundreds of deaths in a year and a half (1981-1982). In early November 1982, the Hezb-e Eslami was forced out of Alichang and Tagao by fronts claiming affiliation with the Djamiyat-e Eslami, which it had tried to eliminate. On the other hand, the war it waged on the autonomous Nuristan Front were still continuing during the winter of 1982-1983.
11. After being attacked by the National United Front in the district of Qarabagh, at the end of last summer, two Iranian groups (mainly the Nasr and the Harakat-e Eslami) attacked the allied forces of the Ettehadie-ye Modjahedin-e Eslami, Hezb-ollah and National United Front in Djaghori during December, causing tens of deaths on both sides and destroying the health center established 3 months earlier.
12. In July 1982, Mr Perez de Cuellar assessed the number of organizations functioning within the Afghan resistance at 25.

Rise of Khomeynism Among Shi'ite Minority

Paris LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE in French Apr 83 pp 18-19

[Article by Olivier Roy]

[Text] The Shi'ite minority in Afghanistan has always been held in contempt and excluded from power. The Hazara people, in particular, have provided the bulk of the capital's day laborers and small craftsmen. But many of the young Shi'ites profited from the development of the educational system beginning in the 1940s. Excluded from the establishment and from responsible positions, they, along with the Tajiks in the northeast, have supplied the majority of the Maoist militants rallied around the periodical SHOLE-YE JAWID (The Eternal Flame). But this movement split into 20-some groups early in the 1970s, and the few members who have not left the country are found mainly on the Shi'ite resistance fronts (in Jaghori, to the south of the Hazarajat, as well as in what remains of the Nimruz front, in the northern part of this province). However, the Maoist movement has never had real popular roots.

Today, the Shi'ite minorities are active participants in the resistance. For the Hazara people, who constitute the great majority, the ethnic, political and religious identities are one. They often use the words "nation" (mellat), "ethnos" (qawm), and "religion" (mazhab) interchangeably to describe themselves. This sense of cultural identity can be transformed into nationalism in some young people, particularly since the Hazara territory is practically the only part of Afghanistan which is populated in homogeneous fashion and has rather precise boundaries. A party which is both leftist and nationalist was formed in the 1960s--the Tanzim-e nasi-e now-e Hazara-e moghol (Organization of the New Generation of the Mongol Hazara People).

Well-supported by the Hazara people who emigrated to Pakistan, this movement is currently a part of the organization known by the name Tanzim, which is headed by Mr Maghsoudi and has its headquarters in Quetta, Pakistan, with a branch in Jaghori. But its influence with the peasantry is practically nil. After a period of "sacred union" at the beginning of the war the Hazara people were divided into two subsequently antagonistic factions. One supports the traditional structures, while the other is a product of the influence of the Iranian revolution.

The traditional structures include the estate owners who employ sharecroppers (mirs), the village chieftains (arbab), and the presumed descendants of the Prophet, highly respected by the people, who often donate a part of their income to them (sayyed). As is the case elsewhere in the country, the clergy includes the village mullahs, often narrow-minded and jealous of the economic advantages of their situation, and the sheiks trained in Najaf or Qom by the Iranian ayatollahs, who, after lengthy studies, issue them certificates authorizing them to train other mullahs. Such structures, which guaranteed the Hazara identity in the days of the old regime, have hardly been capable of adapting to the resistance war, with the exception of a large proportion of the sheiks, who were radicalized by contact with the Iranian revolution. The Iranian influence in fact dates far back with the Hazara people, who have

at all times tended to imitate their neighbors. The same inns which today display portraits of the Ayatollah Khomeyni displayed those of the shah 10 years ago. However, a religious "revitalization" movement has affected the entire community, and not the Hazara people alone, since the 1950s, under the leadership of Pir Sayyed Isma'el-Balkhi. This movement, which has preached sermons throughout the country, established religious schools and founded mutual aid institutions, is taking a political turn which worries the regime. Pir Balkhi died, probably assassinated by the police under Daoud, when he was prime minister.

But in the 1960s, the madrasas (Shi'ite religious schools) experienced a revival with the return of the sheiks trained in Najaf. Mr Behechti (the current president of the Hazara Union Council) established the Takht-i Waras madrasa in the Hazarajat. It not only trains those with a religious calling but also secondary students during the winter vacations. In Kabul, Mr Wa'ez (assassinated under Taraki) founded the Mohamedya madrasa; and in Qandahar, Sheik Assef Mohsseni (current president of the Harakat-e islami) heads the Hosseynia madrasa. Only Herat, where the Saddiqya madrasa does however operate, has not had a major Shi'ite religious leader. And the province of Nimruz remains completely excluded from this religious "revival." The very sectarian Shi'ite minority there is influenced by young intellectuals, half militant, half Robin Hood (the Ayars of the Persian tradition), providing the future cadres of the Nimruz Front (such as Mr Parwiz, currently the leader of the front in the north of the province).

Thus the resistance will take shape according to these lines of force: a minority of leftist intellectuals in the city, easily overcome; the traditional structures, which draw their strength from their inertia; and the religious "revival," quickly absorbed by the Iranian model. In this connection, the history of the Shura-ye ettefagh (Union Council) in the Hazarajat provides an example.

Neither a party nor a real parliament, the Shura was formed at the beginning of September 1979, when the region was almost entirely liberated from the government forces. Mr Behechti soon became its leader, aided by Mr Jaglan on military matters. A rather rigid administration was then set up, patterned on that of the old regime. With the support of the clergy, the Shura takes issue first of all with the traditional political and "economic" notables, described as feudal. These individuals, wherever they are losing power--for example, Mr Gharibdad in the Behsud Valley or former deputy Hajji Nader in Turkman--then create autonomous fronts which, paradoxically, enjoy the support of the leftists who have returned from the cities. It is true that the alliance of the leftists and the notables is based on their family links, their committed sectarianism and a shared opposition to the Iranian influence, but it has the undesirable effect of depriving the leftists of all credibility in social discourse at a time when the antifeudal argument is being taken up by the Khomeyni supporters.

The Shura has no monopoly on the representation of the Shi'ites as a whole, or even the Hazara people alone. Various parties have in fact been established (Rad, Niru, Nehzat, Reja, Ittihad, etc.), and they are generally pro-

Iranian, with the exception of the Ittihad, a liberal organization which has influence in Jaghori and provides the shrewd businessmen in Quetta, for whom the war has created new markets, with a cover. Only two have real military strength: the Harakat-e islami (not to be confused with the Harakat-e enq-elab, which is Sunnite), founded by Sheik Assef Mohsseni in Qandahar, which is influential in that city and in the Mazar-i Sharif region to the north, and the Nasr, which is growing steadily today. The names of the founders of the Nasr are not known, but it is on the other hand known that it engages in direct recruiting among the young Hazaras working in Iran, who have often spent some time with the guardians of the revolution, who accept within their ranks all Persian-speaking Shi'ites, even if they are not Iranians.²

Initially, the Shura took up the Khomeyni vocabulary and denounced the "feudal" forces, but dissension was to arise very soon between the traditionalists, headed by Mr Behechti, and the radicals, headed by his assistant, Mr Saddiqi. The conflict entered into an acute phase in the summer of 1982. The radicals in the Shura joined the Nasr. Suddenly, a reversal of alliances came about, and the notables, who had previously been opposed to the Shura, joined it. This was the case in the region of Behsud, where the representative of the Shura during the summer of 1981 was Mr Akbari, who opposed Mr Gharibdad. In September of 1982, Mr Akbari became the representative of the Nasr, and Mr Gharibdad the representative of the Shura. The struggle was a bloody one and led to at least some tens of deaths.

The Shura was saved by the intervention of Mr Jaglan. He mobilized the peasants in the Nohour region who, poorly armed but numerous, took back the southern part of the Behsud region and Lal. Today, the Nasr controls the northern part of Behsud (and thus the Kabul road), the Turkman region (where Hajji Nader disappeared), the Dara-ye-souf Valley and the Daikundi region. The Shura, for its part, controls the southeastern and northwestern part of the Hazarajat.

This civil war has obviously worked to the detriment of the anti-Soviet struggle, but it is neither a happenstance accident nor an aberration. It represents the conflict between two antagonist models of resistance, and of society as well: the Islamist revolution, which places stress on the change in structures and ideology rather than the battle against the invader, and traditionalism mixed with nationalism. Nowhere in Afghanistan has this antagonism developed such violence as has been seen among the Shi'ites. Quite the contrary--the ideological differences among the Sunnite parties are less acute than they were 2 years ago.

Iran plays a decisive role in this radicalization of the Shi'ite youth (also a product of the conservatism of the present Shura leaders). The Afghan question has been taken up, not by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but by the guardians of the revolution, who do not hesitate to send veritable investigation commissions to the Hazarajat or to the frontier zones, and who maintain direct relations with the young Afghan radicals, very often bypassing the local clergy (who nonetheless maintain personal relations with a number of ayatollahs). Denouncing the Americans to a much greater extent than the Soviets (even in the broadcasts beamed at the Afghans), and the

"feudal" elements much more often than the communists, Iran refuses to give the resistance any concrete aid. Or more precisely, the guardians of the revolution impose as a prior condition to it the formation of a hezbollah (party of God) which would recognize the preeminence of the Ayatollah Khomeyni and would in a way be their Afghan appendix.

This discussion is not at all reflected among the Sunnites, even the fundamentalists, who do not receive any aid from the Iranians either. On the contrary, it is very keen among the young Shi'ites, victimized both by the Sunnites and by their traditional notables. The expansion of the Nasr is the most visible reflection of it, while other equally radical organizations are being created in Herat (Mr Ghari Yekdast's "hezbollah") and in Nimruz (emergence of the pro-Khomeyni Reja organization, following the collapse of the Nimruz Front).

The guardians of the revolution provide their imitators with training and supply them with some weapons (M1 and G3 rifles), thus contributing to their expansion.

The upsurge of Khomeynism can be explained not so much in terms of Iranian aid as the impatience and radicalization of the Shi'ite youth, limited by the notables to a subordinate role, and receiving no greater acceptance in the left wing either. However, this expansion will inevitably be limited in Afghanistan because of the essentially Shi'ite nature of the movement. In this country, as in Iraq and Syria, the Iranian revolution, universalist in its phraseology, has appeal only for the Shi'ites. And, in view of this sectarianism, while at the same time the divisions within the Shi'ite minority are intensifying, the Sunni parties, including the fundamentalists, are moving toward a certain moderation.

The Shi'ite Minority

The Shi'ite minority in Afghanistan accounts for approximately 15 to 20 percent of the population. It is composed mainly of Hazaras, a Persian-speaking people with Mongol traits inhabiting the central mountains, but also constituting strong urban minorities in Kabul, Ghazni and Kandahar, as well as in Iran and the southern part of Pakistan (Quetta).

A second group, small in number but influential, comprises the Kizilbash, descendants of the Iranian officials appointed in the 18th century by the conqueror Nader Shah. An educated group, living mainly in the capital, they have always played a role within the urban intelligentsia.

In the Nimruz (in the southwest), there is a strong Shi'ite community (called Fars) living in the Seistan marshland and the Khashrud plain. The only Shi'ite community speaking Pashto lives mainly in Kandahar.

Finally, the Ismailis are rejected by the Shi'ites, and tend to collaborate with the regime.

FOOTNOTES

1. At the time of the disappearance of Hajji Nader Ala'Ullahdad, a former deputy, important local notable, promoter of the Turkman front, and ally of the Shura (he was probably killed by the Nasr), the newspaper SEDA-YE AFGHANISTAN (published in Germany), the organ of the Federation of Afghan Students Abroad, took up the defense, on the front page of its December 1982 issue, of the man it had in earlier days described as "feudal."
2. The charge that the Nasr has been infiltrated by the Iranian Tudeh, or by the organization of the Modjahedin-e khalq, seems useless, although it is not possible to reject it entirely. The aggressiveness of the Nasr finds justification enough in the imitation of its Iranian "sponsor."

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CSO: 4619/63

REPORT ON ERSHAD'S MAY DAY MESSAGE TO WORKERS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 1 May 83 p 1

[Text] The Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt Gen. H. M. Ershad, has called upon the workers to take a strong vow to build a 'new Bangladesh' with the same spirit of sacrifice the working people of this country fought the Liberation War along with others to establish a happy and prosperous society, reports BSS.

In a message on the eve of the May Day, the CMLA declared his oneness with the working forces and said that the historic May Day was the day of solidarity of the working people of the world. He felt that complete peace was essential in industrial units through establishing a healthy and welfare-oriented relationship for increasing industrial production.

With this end in view, he said, the workers would have to come out of the clutches of politics and materialise their hopes and aspirations through healthy trade unionism. At the same time, he added, they will have to keep themselves above all sorts of instigations of the selfish quarters. Their welfare lay in it, he pointed out.

Gen. Ershad said that as relentless work in the context of overall economic condition of the country was indispensable, likewise it was essential to ensure that the workers get their due and other rights and interests. He said "We believe that the question of due right and dignity of labour should be considered in the light of Islamic values and humanitarian angle".

He called upon all including peasants and workers to make the programmes of the present Government aimed at improving the standard of living of the people a success by raising productions in field and factories thus achieving self-sufficiency in all spheres of national life.

Referring to the reformative measures and changes under taken by the Government the CMLA said all these were aimed at achieving economic uplift of the people.

Private sector has been given encouragement by adopting liberal industrial policy to ensure increased production in the factories and to overcome the loss suffered during the past years, he pointed out.

Gen. Ershad said that with a view to building a people-oriented administrative system-thana administration was upgraded within the framework of a progressive administrative structure. He expressed the belief that the administrative and economic infrastructure that would be able to protect the rights and interests of the common people including those of the peasants and workers.

Concluding, he wished his sincere good wishes to the working people of the country on the occasion of the great 'May Day'.

CSO: 4600/1154

FOREIGN MINISTER SPEAKS AT MEETING ON PALESTINE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 5 May 83 p 1

[Text] KUALA LUMPUR, May 4--Foreign Minister Mr A R Shams-ud-Doha today reiterated Bangladesh's total commitment to the just cause of the Palestinian people for their right of self-determination and for achieving a homeland of their own with the holy city of Jerusalem as its capital, reports BSS.

"The tragedy of Palestine is the tragedy of our times" the Bangladesh Foreign Minister said in a statement made at the United Nations Asian Conference on Palestine being held here.

Mr Doha told the conference "it is the most poignant reminder of how alien immigrants in conformance with vested interests transformed an essentially negligible indigenous minority to a predominant and repressive majority through control of land, labour and citizenship laws".

The Foreign Minister referred to the problem of Palestine which had bedevilled peace in the Middle East for over three decades. He expressed his confidence that the current Asian regional conference on Palestine would contribute to a better understanding of the Palestine problem and create necessary public opinion to ameliorate the plight of the Palestinian people and to realisation of their national rights.

Mr Doha said for more than three decades "we have witnessed the trials and tribulations; the pain and anguish of a nation uprooted from its rightful home and hearth". Perhaps no problem has engaged so much sustained attention in recent times as the question of Palestine he said adding it is now universally accepted that the crux of the matter is the fundamental right of the people of Palestine to exercise self determination and to establish a state of their own.

Meets Rao

Mr Doha today met his Indian counterpart Mr Narasimha Rao who is leading his country's delegation.

The two Foreign Ministers in their exclusive and cordial meeting lasting over 30 minutes had extensive discussions covering entire gamut of relations between the two countries.

Both the Foreign Ministers decided that they should meet again very soon: either at Delhi or at Dhaka at a mutually convenient date.

ERSHAD CALLS FOR 'AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION'

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 1 May 83 p 1

[Text] MANIKGANJ (Dhaka) April 30--Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. Gen. H. M; Ershad declared here today that Agricultural Revolution would be the only revolution in the country now.

He was addressing a peasants rally at the stadium of this sub-divisional town 60 kilometers (40 miles) from Dhaka.

Holding a bunch of sheaf of paddy in his hands the CMLA said this revolution aimed at increasing the food production and improving the lot of the rural people. He urged the people of all walks of life to work unitedly and shun the calls for any other revolution.

The peasants at the rally voiced their support to the CMLA's call for agricultural revolution by raising full throated slogan Ershad you proceed we are with you.

The CMLA reiterated his government's commitment to develop the 68000 villages of the country and turn each village into a self-reliant unit. He said that the country should not beg food from others. We should grow more and rise with our heads high

The CMLA ordered the Government officials to stand beside the people and help them in their economic struggle. He asked the officials of the Agriculture Ministry to teach the farmers about scientific methods of growing more food reach seeds fertilizer pesticide and other inputs to the peasants in time. He said that Government had already liberalised the agricultural credit system to give incentive to the farmers.

The CMLA said that the growers must get due price for their products. He said that this year the potato production was very good but the farmers were not getting due price. He announced that his Government would release fund for buying potato from the growers at fair price so that the farmers were not affected.

Chief Martial Law Administrator Lt. Gen. H.M. Ershad declared that if India does not give us our due share of the Ganges waters at Farakka Bangladesh must

make her own arrangement to irrigate the lands "We cannot make our agriculture dependent on others", he asserted.

The CMLA announced that his Government would make all efforts to develop the irrigation system in the country and bring more lands under irrigation network. He said that the country had 2.20 crore acres of arable land of which fifty lakh acres were now covered by the irrigation system. He stressed the need of conserving monsoon water for irrigating our lands during the dry period.

The CMLA said that agriculture was the mainstay of our national economy and so his government had given priority to the agriculture sector. He declared that his Government would place more fund and provide agricultural inputs to the farmers for making the country self-sufficient in food.

General Ershad emphasised on the need for implementation of the family planning and population control programme. He said that if the present alarming rate of population growth went unabated no Government would be able to feed all people in the country. He asked the Government officials and requested the educated class to motivate the people for population control.

Turning to the students the CMLA said that the youths are the leaders of tomorrow. He advised the students to go to villages, mix with the peasants and know the pangs and problems of the poor. He said that this would grow realisation about the national problems in the minds of the students who will become government officials and leaders of the country.

The CMLA requested the peasants at the rally to speak freely on the different problems they were confronting and advise his Government how to solve those. At the CMLA's suggestion five persons representing different section of rural people came to the dais and addressed the rally. The CMLA listened with rapt attention to what they said and himself took notes from their suggestions. Of the five speakers two were farmers, one fisher man, one midwife and the other a local trader. After they finished their speeches the CMLA again went to the microphone and assured the people of his Government's effort to solve their problems.

Earlier, the CMLA was presented with a bunch of sheaf of paddy and a silver spade by the peasants.

The rally was presided over by Major General Abdur Rahman, Zonal Martial Law Administrator, Zone (A) and was addressed by Agriculture Secretary Mr. Anisuzzaman.

The CMLA also inaugurated an agricultural exhibition. The CMLA and ZMLA went round the different stalls at the agricultural exhibition organised for the peasant rally.

He was presented with a wicker hat (Mathal), sickle and some handicraft.

Later, the CMLA talked with the farmers representatives, local body leaders and ideal farmers.

BANGLADESH

BRIEFS

ERSHAD, SIDDIKY TALKS--The President of Bangladesh Muslim League (BML), Justice B. A. Siddiky held a formal meeting with the Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad at the CMLA's Secretariat in Dhaka on Monday night, reports BSS. The meeting held in a cordial atmosphere lasted about two hours. Nine officer-bearers including the Vice-Presidents and the General Secretary of the BML were present. During the meeting views were exchanged on major national problems including political and economic issues and matters relating to the country's constitution. [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 3 May 83 p 1]

AMBASSADOR TO ALGERIA--The government has decided to appoint Mr. Masud Ahmed at present Minister/CDA in the embassy of Bangladesh, Algiers, as Ambassador of Bangladesh to the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria it was officially announced in city on Monday reports BSS. [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 3 May 83 p 8]

CSO: 4600/1158

INDIA STAND AT WB-IMF MEETING REPORTED

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 1 May 83 pp 1, 7

[Article by Warren Unna: "Move to Increase World Bank Capital"]

[Text] Washington, April 30--The World Bank-International Monetary Fund's 21-nation "development committee" yesterday called for a sizeable increase in the bank's capital to provide more money for its loan programmes to developing nations.

Mr A.W. (Tom) Clausen, World Bank president, told a Press conference that, in addition to the 5% annual increase in real terms already provided for in increased capital the bank was now exploring the feasibility of a general capital increase of "at least \$40 billion beginning in 1986," plus a "selective capital increase" (in which richer members are asked to contribute bigger proportions) of \$20 billion.

Of this last, according to Mr Clausen, some \$3 billion might be sought by the time the bank and the IMF hold their annual meetings here in September the remaining \$17 billion a bit later as part of a joint approach for ratification by national legislatures when they also are asked to approve the general increase.

India's secretary of Finance, Mr M. Narasimham, who has headed India's delegation here this week to both the Group of 24 developing nations meeting and the development committee meeting, said India preferred the general capital approach over the selective because the latter was "more difficult to negotiate". At yesterday's Press conference at the IMF headquarters here, this year's development committee chairman, Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Pakistan's Minister for Finance, Commerce and Economic Coordination, declared the meeting a "success".

He noted that for the first time, the development committee which is composed of both industrial and developing nations, agreed to consider the "linkage" between trade and capital flow. He said the group agreed to a study by the World Bank, the IMF and the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs to push the furtherance of world trade and, with it, general economic growth.

"The idea is not to come up with a big study about mother, God and country--we are all in favour of that", declared the World Bank president, Mr Clausen. India's

Mr Narasimham, in his prepared speech before the development committee on Thursday, had declared:

In the ultimate analysis it is only the expansion of their trade and their ability to pay their way through increased exports, that can bring about a degree of self-reliance for the developing countries. Here again, one cannot but contrast the rhetoric that so often fills the pleas for an open trading system, with the reality of increasing protectionism in the world...the linkages between trade and development which this committee has put on its agenda for the first time are indeed important...(but also) an important aspect of structural adjustment is the vacation by developed countries of old and inefficient industries in which the developing countries have clear comparative advantage. We welcome the proposals in the documents before us urging industrial countries to resist protectionist pressures. This is not enough. There needs to be a rollback of the protectionist measures that have already been taken and which have cost the developing countries dear already".

Mr Narasimham also voiced apprehension about getting the World Bank and the IMF involved in trade policy. He feared this might result in "surveillance" and "conditionality" imposed on the developing nations only since "the influence of these two institutions on policy in the industrial countries is weak".

The developing committee communique welcomed World Bank and IMF efforts to assist debt management for the developing countries and chairman Khan noted that developing country indebtedness today had reached the astounding total of somewhere between \$640 billion and \$700 billion. But Pakistan's Minister, in answer to a reporter's accusatory question that his country was spearheading a move to gain international forgiveness of its own debts, angrily replied: "Banks are not charitable institutions, countries that incur a debt have an obligation to pay that debt. Some, like my country where the debt is beyond our control, seek a solution which is global". India's Finance Secretary, Mr Narasimham, in his speech on Thursday, declared: "The underlying causes of the debt problem are ultimately a symptom of the basic inadequacies of the international monetary and financial system. Debt rescheduling exercises should be so arranged as to provide for additionality of resources".

In other words, the 1944 Bretton Woods agreement establishing the IMF to monitor international exchange no longer was capable of maintaining the foreign exchange liquidity vital to the buying and selling involved in trade among nations.

Mr Narasimham reminded the committee of the recommendations by the non-aligned summit in New Delhi for the early summoning of an international conference with universal participation on money and finance for development: "We believe that partial piecemeal and ad hoc measures for reform of existing institutions will not be enough".

India's representative also expressed apprehension that the new trend in the IMF seemed to be for developing countries to come to it for loans as a bank of last resort--after efforts had been exhausted in the global commercial markets. But

"encouraging countries at crisis avoidance, rather than crisis management is what one would expect an international cooperative institution such as the IMF to do", he declared.

And Mr Narasimham could not resist tweeking those (particularly in the U.S. Reagan Administration) who two years ago, had urged India to seek commercial bank loans--rather than taking out the huge \$5.6 billion IMF loan as a precautionary measure for maintaining a favourable balance of payments. Now, with industrial nations worried about the huge debts their commercial banks have incurred through their loans to Brazil, Mexico and Argentina, India, at this week's meeting, found itself being "praised" for its conservative position on debt, Mr Narasimham repeated to reporters.

CSO: 4600/1128

GOVERNMENT POLICY ON FOREIGN FINANCE TOLD

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 26 Apr 83 p 5

[Text] The Government will adopt a "cautious" approach to external commercial borrowings to keep the debt servicing burden within limits, reports UNI quoting official sources.

Taking into account repayments already made the outstanding external commercial debt will be about Rs 1700 crores at the end of 1982-83.

While recognising the need for "circumspection", the Government will ensure that the pace of investment in crucial spheres is maintained, the sources said.

Though commercial borrowings, which are on harder terms, constitute a small percentage of India's overall external debt burden, the continued effort is to keep such borrowing at a level where debt servicing would be manageable.

Meanwhile, as part of its efforts to gradually reduce dependence on foreign finance, the Government has drawn up a five-pronged strategy. But it is against fixation of a statutory ceiling because the extent of Government's borrowings depends on the prevailing circumstances and involved patient negotiations.

The strategy envisages increase in domestic exploration and production of oil and natural gas, development of alternative sources of energy and reduction in the demand for petroleum products.

It calls for import substitution in major items like cement, fertilisers, and non-ferrous metals through better capacity utilisation and creation of additional capacity.

Constraints

It stresses the need to remove infrastructure constraints, particularly in power, transport and ports to improve exports and to generate larger export surpluses through higher production, improved competitiveness and efficiency in Indian industry.

Incentives for larger remittances from Indian nationals abroad are also visualized.

The fifth point of the strategy is the adoption of an external financing strategy which would avoid constraints on essential imports for development.

The country's outstanding debt liability at the end of 1982 is estimated at Rs 20,533.17 crores. This consists of Government loans Rs 16,705.74 crores, non-Government loans Rs 601.56 crores, commercial borrowings, including suppliers' credit Rs 1073.27 crores, and purchases under CFF (Compensatory Financing Facility) Rs 2152.17 crores.

Debt repayment is mainly from export and invisible earnings. The overall external debt position at the moment, according to official sources, "is within manageable limits".

CSO: 4600/1114

CONGRESS-I SEEKS TO REGAIN POLITICAL GROUND

Madras THE HINDU in English 25 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy: "Congress (I) Wooing Regional Parties?"]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 24.

After the expected Cabinet reshuffle at the Centre next month, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, will ask the Chief Ministers of Congress (I)-ruled States to take parallel steps to put more capable persons in their Ministries in charge of development work especially the implementation of the 20-point programme to achieve some positive results before the parliamentary elections.

According to some of her advisers, Mrs. Gandhi feels that the ruling party cannot afford to go to the polls with unfulfilled promises in an atmosphere of rising expectations without running the risk of losing the faith of the common people in the professions of her Government.

She is, therefore, doubly keen that, in the short period now left for the next elections, the Congress (I) should give a good account of itself at least in some selective spheres to improve the economy and lessen the burdens of the hard-pressed people.

Uphill task: It is going to be an uphill task in any case since there is very little time left to make up for the lost opportunities with better performance unless she is prepared to shed the deadwood from both the Central and State Cabinets, besides taking steps to remove the stigma of growing corruption.

One of her directives to the Chief Ministers is to utilise the experience of senior officials who are being reverted to the States in the field of development administration without assigning them to unimportant posts. A good many of them who have served with distinction in the Economic Ministries at the Centre can make their expertise available to the State Governments if they are given the opportunity to serve in their specialised spheres.

The expected Cabinet reshuffle at the Centre after the current session of Parliament, the last one before the next elections, is likely to be a fairly comprehensive one involving several changes in portfolios following the exit of some of the present Ministers and the induction of a few new faces. The preliminary work on the proposed changes has already begun, although it is too early to anticipate how far Mrs. Gandhi will go in making these changes.

Secretaries postings: There has been some delay in completing the proposed reassignment of several Secretaries to the Government at the Centre because of the continued uncertainty about the extent of changes the Prime Minister intends to make in her Cabinet. But the two operations will be completed before the Government can come to grips with the tasks of better performance.

As part of the Congress (I)'s planning for the next parliamentary elections, some thought is being given to the possibility of arriving at some understanding with the Chief Ministers of non-Congress (I)-governed States on division of seats wherever possible. The party has reason to be worried about the general political atmosphere in the country with the Congress (I)'s influence waning in several important States.

If it is not going to be easy to regain the lost ground in some of these States in the short time left for the next parliamentary elections, the next best thing to do from the Congress (I)'s point of view would be to explore the possibilities of electoral adjustments on a regional basis as has been done in the past.

A dialogue has been opened privately in at least one important southern State for striking a bargain which could be used as an example for negotiating similar deals in other States if possible. The Congress (I) strategists want to woo regional parties to prevent them from

lining up with other Opposition parties at the national level in putting up a joint front against the ruling Congress (I) in the next parliamentary elections.

It is quite possible that not all the regional parties in power would respond to such Congress (I) overtures. But even if some of them do so, as has happened in the past, it would give the Congress (I) some margin of safety in facing the threat of a divided vote in the north.

CONGRESS-I CONCERNED OVER SHEKHAR'S PADAYATRA

Madras THE HINDU in English 25 Apr 83 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy: "Chandra Shekhar's Padayatra Sets Congress (I) Leaders Thinking"]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 24.

After ignoring and ridiculing the marathon padayatra of the Janata Party President, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, the Congress (I) leadership has started taking his Odyssey seriously in the wake of confidential reports that he has been making a good impact on the minds of the people.

But it does not mean that he is succeeding in rekindling the old Janata spirit with his epic Bharat Yatra from Kanyakumari to Delhi by casting himself in the role of a true torch-bearer of Gandhism.

The Indian public is still quite sceptical about his party's capacity to head a new Opposition front capable of projecting itself as a national alternative to the Congress (I) in the next parliamentary elections, although Mr. Chandra Shekhar himself continues to be looked upon as a man of integrity with an untarnished reputation who is destined to play an increasingly important part in the country's political life.

What is worrying the Congress (I) leadership is not that he is going to emerge as a powerful rival to Mrs. Indira Gandhi with his new Gandhian mantle as a crusader for better values. It is more immediately concerned about the enthusiastic public response to his padayatra in Congress (I)-ruled States like Maharashtra, the midway point along the 4,000-kilometre route from Kanyakumari to Delhi.

The Congress (I) leaders who first tried to dismiss Mr. Chandra Shekhar's walking tour as a political gimmick are now conceding

privately that he is attracting increasing attention because of the growing public disenchantment with the ruling party's performance.

It is not without significance that the response to his padayatra in Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka has been less than that in Maharashtra which has become increasingly restive over the Congress (I) misrule.

Opposition plan for rally: According to reports received by the Centre from various sources, he might meet with much better response in Gujarat and parts of Madhya

Pradesh and Rajasthan through which he will be passing on his way to Delhi. The Opposition parties are planning a big rally to welcome him when he ends up his Bharat Yatra at Rajghat at the end of June.

Perhaps the best tribute the Congress (I) leaders can grudgingly pay to Mr. Chandra Shekhar is to think in terms of organising their own padayatras in selected places to re-establish contact with the masses in the countryside. The party is planning these walking tours for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in rural areas in different States before the next elections.

The intention is not to walk cross-country over long distances, but go from village to village on foot in some specially chosen areas to have the maximum possible exposure in important rural belts. But the whole effort would be self-defeating and even counter-productive if the intending padayatris arrive in a motorcade till the outskirts of the chosen clusters of villages and put in only a token walking tour as a publicity stunt or vote-catching exercise on the eve of elections.

CSO: 4600/1112

PTI INTERVIEW WITH RAO IN MADRAS REPORTED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 26 Apr 83 p 7

[Text] Madras, April 25 (PTI)--External affairs Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, said today India was against the escalation of tension in Europe and Central America by the threatened deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles by the United States and the Soviet Union.

Mr Rao told PTI in an interview here that India wanted this trend to be arrested as it led to a lot of 'tension and worry everywhere'.

He was reacting to the reported deadlock in the arms limitation talks in Geneva following the Soviet threat of retaliation if the United States persisted in deploying Pershing and Cruise missiles in Western Europe.

Mr Rao said, 'we stand for a freeze on nuclear armaments, deescalation of tension, and total disarmament ultimately'.

When asked about the reported decision of a U.S. congressional Committee approving increase in Pakistan's military sales credit from 150 million dollars to 200 million dollars, taking the total to 275 million dollars for the current financial year, Mr Rao said, 'we are not for increasing armaments and tension to this area and the sub-continent as a whole'.

India's views on this matter were very clear and had been spelt out often, he said. 'We are not going to change our stand for a few dollars or a million dollars', he added.

India has no specific proposal to be discussed at the foreign ministers' conference of ten non-aligned countries in New Delhi later this week, Mr Rao said.

He said the meeting on 29 and 30 April would consider the follow-up action on that portion of the economic declaration of the non-aligned summit dealing with the North-South dialogue, and immediate measures for recovery.

He said the Prime Minister had written to Heads of State appraising them of the deliberations at the Summit and suggesting a discussion on the issue at the next session of the United Nations General Assembly. Replying to a question, he said India had not sought a second North-South summit.

ANALYST DEPLORES POLITICIANS' MANIPULATIONS

Madras THE HINDU in English 1 May 83 p 2

[Article by G.K. Reddy: "Passion for Power, Crisis of Character"]

[Text] There is no proper tradition in Indian politics of a person or party forsaking power for upholding a lofty cause, or risking defeat in an election in defence of a fundamental principle. In the rat race for supremacy, even top leaders tend to compromise at every stage, sacrificing cherished values, entering into makeshift alliances, condoning all kinds of malpractices, to gain some advantage at the cost of one's own convictions.

The pathetic urge to get into power and retain it compels Indian politicians to do anything to remain in office until they are overtaken by the remorseless logic of their own monumental follies or sickening imperfections.

It is the psychology of expediency that constrains them to develop flexible consciences, indulge in outright opportunism with a cynical disdain for public opinion, while engaging in a lot of brave talk about principles.

A politician in power develops cold feet at the very thought of one's luck running out and being obliged in the process to sit in opposition for a change. One is not mentally conditioned in the Indian environment to play the game of reverse roles with consummate skill, biding one's time patiently till an opportunity arises for staging a return to power.

The tragedy of it all is that an Indian politician has been conditioned to look upon an electoral reverse as a personal calamity, as though one has been unjustly deprived of his privileged position through a cruel combination of circumstances. The result is that nobody accepts defeat with good grace sticking to one's own stand however unpopular it might be at that particular point of time in the chequered history of a nation.

It is the courage of one's convictions that can fortify the spirits of a politician even in moments of adversity and help to retrieve the lost ground in due course, when those who voted him out of power start realising that they had been unfair to him.

It is the all-consuming passion for power and the spoils of office that go with it, which makes politicians go to any lengths, and resort to any means, to sustain themselves in moments of adversity by seeking anybody's help in shoring up their waning fortunes.

The origins of floor crossings can be traced back to the recurring splits in almost every political party in the country, placing a premium on factionalism with no lasting loyalties to any individual or commitments to any party in this volatile situation. The cynical alliances that are entered into by various parties during every election are only an offshoot of the crisis of character and purpose that has been corroding Indian public life.

Defectors' help

The sad part of it is that the political parties which engage in such unprincipled electoral deals on the eve of every poll also draw up lists of opposition candidates who could be bought over after the elections, for staking the claim to form a Government if the party in question had not been able to secure an absolute majority of its own.

It is only when a party in power is badly routed in an election that it reconciles itself to the misfortune that has befallen it without putting up a last ditch fight. In all marginal cases it manages to survive with the help of defectors from the opposition defying all established conventions.

As the main ruling party at the Centre and in several States, the Congress (I) should be setting better standards to strengthen Indian democracy, instead of eroding its traditions. In playing the power game disregarding all ground rules, it has gravely undermined the very foundations of the country's parliamentary system. It has not only been rewarding defectors, shielding corrupt elements and turning a blind eye at all sorts of malpractices in public life, but also pampering communal forces, placating vested interests and making a virtue of opportunism.

Monstrous

Nowhere else in elective democracy can a ruling party have resorted, as the Congress (I) did after its spectacular victory in 1980, to the shocking practice of engineering the defection of entire State Governments with their legislative majorities in Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, where the Janata and Lok Dal minorities were overnight rechristened as Congress (I) Governments without any qualms of conscience. The monstrous act was further compounded when the party formed new Governments in both these States with the help of a new category of defectors after the subsequent elections.

It was not, therefore, surprising that the Congress (I) leadership readily responded to the overtures of Dr. Farooq Abdullah for an alliance with his National Conference in the impending Jammu and Kashmir Assembly election. The negotiations failed not because of any conscientious objection on the part of the Congress (I) to reducing itself to the level of a junior partner of the National Conference, but due to Dr. Abdullah's insistence on relegating it to the secondary position of contesting only from the Jammu region, leaving the Kashmir Valley almost entirely to his National Conference.

Division of labour

The division of labour that he suggested implied that, while he would cast himself in the role of torch-bearer of Indian secularism by crusading against the pro-Pakistani elements in the Kashmir Valley, the Congress (I) should concentrate on fighting the Hindu communalists in the Jammu region.

As an all-India party in power at the Centre, the Congress (I) cannot afford to write off any State whatever the compulsions for it. It would not be a terrible catastrophe for the Congress (I) to be defeated by the National Conference in a straight fight, so long as the party retained its identity by adhering to its principles. There is a basic difference between getting driven into oblivion through a staggering electoral debacle and adopting a low profile by functioning as an opposition party without forfeiting its place in the State. The party can continue to uphold the traditions of Indian secularism even as an opposition party without passing on the mantle to Dr. Abdullah's National Conference as the price for an electoral alliance with it.

The recent Congress rout in Andhra Pradesh was total, but the Congress (I) has not ceased to exist there. In Karnataka, the shock was even greater in the sense that the party did not expect to be defeated there. In both the cases, the Congress (I) has acted with dignity and maturity in accepting defeat with good grace and conceding that it had made a big mistake in misjudging the mood of the people. If on the contrary, the Congress (I) has tried to engineer defections in Karnataka and formed a surrogate ministry, the public revulsion would have been so great that the party would have lost whatever influence it still had in the southern States.

Another great mistake the Congress (I) had been making is that, in attempting to placate the minorities and weaker sections in the belief that they would serve as vote banks for the party in the next parliamentary elections, it has been unwittingly treading on the toes of the odd assortment of Hindu castes and sub-castes in the northern States. The Akali agitation in Punjab has led to a Hindu backlash in neighbouring Haryana and Rajasthan, while the recurring communal riots of Uttar Pradesh has put up the backs of Hindus who feel that they are being blamed and made to bear the cross even in places where they cannot be held responsible for starting the riots and fomenting communal tensions.

New organisation

The result is that those sections of the Hindus who do not want to be identified openly with the RSS or the BJP are rallying round a new organisation called Vishwa Hindu Parishad that is coming into prominence as a defender of the Hindu cause and protector of its interests in several northern States.

The Congress (I) is naturally worried about its activities but as a ruling party it has to blame itself for giving large sections of Hindus a cause for a real or imaginary sense of grievance by appearing to placate the minorities for political reasons. It need not go out of its way to favour Hindus at the cost of Muslims, Sikhs, Christians or even scheduled castes, it need not also make them feel guilty of having been born Hindus in a country where they are in a majority but not entitled to majority rights.

It is, therefore, a highly risky business for a ruling party like the Congress (I) to dabble in communal politics whatever the electoral compulsions for it, since in the final analysis its continued political relevance would depend on its unimpeachable secular and socialist credentials than on its capacity to play caste politics in the game of come-upmanship to confound its opponents. The party has to rise above the rut of electoral politics, resist the urge to enter into unholy alliances with all and sundry under cover of electoral adjustments, and convince the people that it would rather lose the next parliamentary election than compromise its principles.

It is not possible to fight the opposition parties at the national level by entering into electoral deals with regional parties whether in the North or the South, in the absence of any shared commitments that render their separate identities irrelevant. The attempted bid for an alliance with the National Conference in Kashmir with its own peculiar blend of communal and secular politics came as an eye opener to many within the Congress (I) itself who felt that there were higher pursuits in life than were winning of elections.

Catalyst

And to this extent the failure of these talks can serve as a catalyst in focussing wider national attention on the difference between secularism as an article of faith in combating the evils of communalism and the politics of using this as convenient alibi for entering into cynical deals with communal or caste elements simply for winning elections.

CSO: 4600/1129

PROBLEMS REPORTED IN UNLOADING U.S. WHEAT

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 25 Apr 83 p 9

[Text] Bombay, April 24--On the high seas off Bombay and Jamnagar ports a thick dust envelops gigantic ships as wheat is transferred into smaller vessels. Operations have gone on quietly since November last year when the import of 3.95 million tons of American wheat began.

Under two separate contracts, signed last year, the supply of wheat began in September last year and is scheduled to continue till May. The first shipment arrived in November and, judging by present indications, the last supply is expected by June or July. Of the total supply of 3.95 million tons, as much as 2.329 million tons of wheat had arrived by the first week of April and 1,753 million tons has been "cleared". While Madras, Visakapatnam, Cochin, Mangalore and Nagapattinam ports received 510,000 tons, Calcutta and Paradip handled 385,000 tons. Eight major and minor ports in the west zone have cleared nearly a million tons of wheat.

Basically, three principal agencies are involved in the operations--the shipping companies, the Food Corporation of India and the port authorities. Private agencies which deal with the transfer of grain from "mother vessels" to "daughter vessels" are all involved in the operations by shipping companies.

Not that operations have been smooth. For example, a vessel of the Shipping Corporation of India, Vallab Bhai Patel, which carried 106,000 tons of wheat from the USA, has been anchored off Rozi port, near Jamnagar, and is able to transfer only 4,000 to 5,000 tons a day to smaller daughter vessels. There has been a shortage of smaller vessels; and the go-slow by the FCI employees (for example in Kandla) has only added to the delay in the operations.

A bulk carrier, Vallab Bhai Patel, which should normally have been released in 25 days, is still off Rozi port waiting to be off-loaded. The day a group of visiting reporters were aboard the carrier, wheat was being transferred from it to a smaller vessel, Rani Padmini, through evacuators.

Jai Bhavani, a vessel belonging to a private shipping company, anchored off Bombay port, was transferring wheat to a smaller vessel. And back in the Bombay port, wheat is unloaded with the help of cranes. Though the FCI officials have no complaints about the availability of docking facilities in Bombay port, the fact remains that there is tremendous pressure and things do get delayed at

times. They have no problems with the workers in Bombay "where they are income-tax payees".

The FCI authorities claim that the corporation had made a "bonus" of earning nearly Rs 87 lakhs as "dispatch money". This money is paid by vessel owners in foreign exchange if loading or unloading operations are completed before the scheduled date.

Despite the claim that pre-berthing detentions have been eliminated to the maximum extent, the shortage of smaller vessels coupled with the go-slow by FCI employees have rendered the operations not as smooth as projected by the FCI authorities. In the normal circumstances, the entire operation should have ended well before the onset of the monsoon which would, incidentally, have increased the FCI's "dispatch money" to an impressive figure.

CSO: 4600/1129

PAPERS REPORT EXTENT, EFFECTS OF DROUGHT

Impact on Grain

Madras THE HINDU in English 25 Apr 83 p 1

[Text] MADRAS, April 24.

Foodgrain production in the country will not be affected much by the very acute and widespread drought this year, according to the Union Minister for Agriculture, Rao Birendra Singh. This year's production would be about 127 million tonnes, just six million tonnes short of the highest ever food production of 133 million tonnes in 1981-82, he said in an interview to THE HINDU on Sunday.

Though the drought this year was more severe and affected larger areas than in 1979-80, its harsh impact had been mitigated through concerted relief measures taken up by the Centre and the States, the Minister pointed out. Food output fell steeply from 131 million tonnes to about 109 million tonnes in 1979-80 and it would not happen this time, he added.

Kharif grain production last year fell by about nine million tonnes, and a part of this deficit would be offset by the good rabi production, he said. Despite setbacks in the earlier stages, wheat crop was good this season, heading for the highest ever production of 40 million tonnes, Rao Birendra Singh said.

Cane output record: Sugarcane crop, with a record production of more than 84 lakh tonnes last year, holds promise of hitting the same figure this year also, according to him. Offer of remunerative support price by the

Government resulted in a steep climb in production from 38 lakh tonnes in 1979-80 to the present level, he maintained. With this high level of production, India had become the world's number one producer of sugarcane, overtaking Cuba and Brazil, the Minister said.

Rao Birendra Singh said that the price fixed for paddy at Rs. 122 a quintal was remunerative and farmers should be happy about it. The Centre had raised the paddy price to this high rate from a very low price of Rs. 95 three years ago. Wheat price was also increased to the present Rs. 151 a quintal from Rs. 115 three years ago. Groundnut, soyabean and mustard were treated the same way. Prices for gram (pulses) were increased by over 60 per cent in just two years, he said. The price of gram fixed at Rs. 145 a quintal two years ago was increased to Rs. 225 this year.

Drought relief aid: On drought relief measures, the Minister said Rs. 436 crores had been allocated by the Centre for 1982-83 to assist the States affected, and Rs. 100 crores more had been set aside for the purpose for 1983-84.

For Tamil Nadu, the Centre had offered Rs. 63 crores for 1982-83 and 1983-84, and out of this, Rs. 30 crores was for augmenting drinking water supply, the Minister said.

'Worst-Ever Drought'

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 26 Apr 83 p 4

[Text] Repeated failure of seasonal rainfall has brought several States in the grip of one of the most serious droughts ever faced by the country in recent times, reports PTI.

Acute shortage of drinking water, destruction of crops worth several crores of rupees and mass exodus of people and cattle have hit the States, according to reports received from Tamilnadu, Kerala, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal.

In some States like UP and Bihar, unseasonal rains have heavily damaged crops that had managed to evade the wrath of the drought.

Serious diseases like broncho pneumonia, measles, gastroenteritis and infection of upper respiratory tracts prevailing in the drought hit areas of Rajasthan have also taken a toll of more than 120 lives.

Tamilnadu with the failure of three monsoons is facing acute shortage of drinking water due to drought. Massive relief operations have been launched to provide drinking water and generating employment. The Centre has sanctioned a sum of Rs 63 crore which has been described by Union Agriculture Minister, Rao Birendra Singh as the biggest assistance ever given by the Centre for this purpose.

Sinking of borewells in drought hit areas has been taken up on war footing.

Tamilnadu, a marginally surplus State in rice, may have problems of adequate supply of grain in the months ahead in view of the drought.

The power position in the State is also causing serious concern as nearly 50 per cent of the 2100 MW power production coming from hydel sources has dwindled to nil.

In Kerala, the immediate loss from the drought and its effect on the cash crop yield in the coming years has been officially estimated at about Rs 1000 crore. The State has declared 1341 out of its 1360 villages as drought hit.

According to an estimate coconut production in terms of value will fall by about Rs 175 crore. Other crops like cardamom, pepper, nutmeg, rubber, clove and coffee have also been adversely hit.

Kerala normally a power surplus State, can generate only enough power for 44 days at 10 million units per day with the present storage in reservoirs.

West Bengal is in the midst of drought for the second consecutive year. It has suffered an official estimated crop loss of over Rs 1000 crore leaving about 30 million people, mostly farmers and farm hands, bankrupt.

The State Government, faced with the uphill task of providing succour to the affected people particularly during the lean agricultural months of May, June and July, is spending monthly about Rs 12 crore on relief work.

The Bihar Government has submitted to the Centre a supplementary demand for Rs 72.82 crore to meet the crucial aspects of drought relief. These are gratuitous relief (Rs 5.79 crore), employment generation (Rs 6.75 crore), taccayl loans (Rs 35 crore), drinking water (Rs 11.91 crore), animal husbandry (Rs 1.10 crore), tubewells (Rs 6.08 crore) and replacement of transformers (Rs 6.18 crore).

Mass exodus of people from the drought-affected desert districts of Rajasthan in search of work, drinking water and fodder for the cattle has started, according to reports reaching Jaipur.

Thousands of people have already migrated from Jaisalmer, Barmer and Jodhpur districts to the neighbouring States. About 50,000 people have gone out of the State, according to unofficial reports.

The migration is still evident on the national highways as herds of cattle led by the drought-affected people are seen moving out of the State.

Meanwhile, the State Government has sanctioned more than 6,000 relief works, costing about Rs 160 crores to provide employment to eight lakh drought-affected people. More than 3.60 lakh persons have already been engaged on such works.

CSO: 4600/1112

VENKATARAMAN NOTES DEVELOPMENTS IN DEFENSE

Delhi Speech on 29 Apr

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 30 Apr 83 p 9

[Text] April 29--The Defence Minister, Mr R. Venkataraman, has asserted that the capacity of India's defence forces was adequate to meet any aggressive designs from neighbouring countries. Our defence plans had to be recast following the arming of Pakistan by the USA. The plans now provide for enhancing our own military strength.

Pakistan had the F-16, which, he described, as an extremely agile aircraft. The Indian Air Force would soon acquire the mirage 2000. We have the Jaguar for striking deep, its endurance being twice that of an F-16, and a variety of MIGs to play the role of interpreter.

Addressing members of the Delhi Study Group on Friday evening, the Defence Minister said that with the introduction of the T-72 tanks and efficient infantry combat vehicles the teeth of the Army had been sharpened.

The Navy now had Sea Harriers for the INS Vikrant. Two submarines were being acquired from West Germany and there were plans to build two more at a domestic shipyard. He felt that the Indian Navy would have an edge over its Pakistani counterpart.

Mr Venkataraman made it clear that India was not totally dependent upon foreign sources for its munitions. The ordinance factories would produce items worth Rs 860 crores this year. And every rupee of that was a saving in foreign exchange.

A number of significant products were the result of our own research and developments. The prototype of a tank would be put on trial later this year. On the radar front, we have developed our own system to identify enemy aircraft. A low-level radar had been produced.

Mr Venkataraman said that India was keeping its options open about inducting nuclear-propelled submarines. He wanted everyone to understand that these carried conventional weapons, only the propulsion system used nuclear energy.

Even in these days of sophisticated weaponry, the man still mattered and the Defence Minister said there was no reason to question the morale and spirit of man. Apart from giving them the best weapons we could afford, the Government tried looking after their other needs.

The Defence Minister said that even though the defence budget was of the order of Rs 6,000 crores, in terms of percentage of the gross national product, or on a per capita basis, it was much lower than that in several other countries.

He reiterated India's commitment to peace. Its desire to maintain friendly relations with all. But at the same time, there could be no taking chances with national security.

The decision to induct these new weapons might not have been taken if Pakistan had not received such sophisticated arms from the USA in the past few years.

The argument that Pakistan was threatened by developments in Afghanistan did not hold much water. How could Pakistan hope to use submarines in the Afghanistan context? And if Afghanistan was the active threat, why were the bulk of the Pakistan troops massed on the border with India?

There were some discordant notes from China too, and that could not be overlooked. While it was the duty of a Foreign Minister to look for signs of friendship and explore all possibilities of the same, a Defence Minister had to remain constantly on the alert, perhaps even be a bit suspicious at all times.

24 Apr Speech to Businessmen

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 25 Apr 83 p 1

[Text]

BHUBANESWAR, April 24.—The Government of India will entrust the task of manufacture of defence components to the private sector in a big way to supplement the output of defence production units, Mr R. Venkataraman, Union Minister for Defence, said here today. This would serve as "a second line of supply" of defence components.

Addressing a meeting organized by the Utkal Chamber of Commerce and Industry he, however, said that defence production units would continue to produce "certain critical and secret items" but there was no harm or risk involved in creating a second line of supply of defence components through the private sector. This would be of immense help when quick and large-scale supply of defence items was needed, he added.

Mr Venkataraman, who visited different defence establishments in Orissa during the past three days, said that more important defence establishments would be located in the State.

Earlier, introducing the Union Defence Minister, Mr J. B. Patnaik, Chief Minister of Orissa, said that Mr Venkataraman visited the Banlapal-Bhograi area of Balasore district where a "big national range" would be set up. Nilgiri in Balasore district had been selected as the site for a radar station. At Gopalpur in Ganjam district which also the Union Minister visited, an air defence missile station and a training school would be located, the Chief Minister added.

Mr Venkataraman said the Centre was doing its best to remove regional disparity in the matter of industrialization and a lot of

concessions had been offered for setting up industries in backward districts. He, however, felt that the Government should endeavour still more and try to solve as much as possible the various problems faced by private sector entrepreneurs.

Mr Venkataraman rejected criticism of the Tamil Nadu Government regarding Central investment in that State, adds UNI.

He noted that the Centre was now directing investments towards States that had remained "industrially backward" for long and pointed out that Tamil Nadu did not fall in that category.

Parliamentary Panel Briefing

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 2 May 83 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, May 1: India will develop an early-warning radar system to meet any threat to its airspace, according to the defence minister, Mr R. Venkataraman.

He said yesterday that the defence scientists were also capable of developing an air-borne early warning system suited to India's needs.

The defence minister told the members of the parliamentary consultative committee attached to his ministry that the scientists were trying to improve upon the available technologies through an innovative approach.

Mr Venkataraman said the defence scientists were working in coordination with their colleagues in other institutions. It was possible that a particular problem was being tackled by more than one institution but a breakthrough achieved by one would help the others also. This was how research was done all over the world, he said.

The members of the committee were briefed extensively on the latest developments in defence-related technologies by Dr. V.S. Arunachalam, scientific adviser to the ministry. He covered the fields of precision-guided munitions, lasers, communications, radar technology and electronic warfare.

Dr. Arunachalam reviewed the work of the defence laboratories and said that considerable work had been done on the development of an anti-tank munition system. The FSAPDS ammunition developed in India compared favourably with foreign versions and was also approved for introduction in the services, he said.

In response to a question, Mr Venkataraman said that while India would take all measures to defend her troops against chemical and biological warfare, it would never develop these weapons. India is a signatory to the Geneva convention on chemical warfare.

CSO: 4600/1128

REPORTAGE, COMMENT ON DELHI FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEET

Queries About Invitations

Madras THE HINDU in English 29 Apr 83 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy: "NAM Group Choice May Pose Problems"]

[Text] As expected, some of the non-aligned countries which have not been invited to the 11-nation ministerial meeting opening tomorrow have been politely querying about the criteria applied in selecting these countries even on the basis of regional representation.

There is some dissatisfaction over the selection, but as a host country India could not have chosen everybody from a community of 101 members if the intention was to confine these consultations to a small representative group of 11 countries drawn from different regions.

But the fact that some countries are unhappy over their non-inclusion is indicative of similar problems that might arise in selecting the group or groups to visit the capitals of the industrialised nations. After deciding whether the nominees should be at the level of heads of Government or Foreign Ministers, the Delhi meeting has to decide the procedure to be followed for selecting them.

As far as India is concerned, it has an open mind on who should be chosen, since it has no particular preferences. It would be guided by the consensus emerging from the discussions during the next two days on the subject.

But it remains to be seen whether this limited consensus would be broadly acceptable to the non-aligned community as a whole, since the few that are attending this meeting cannot be deemed to be representing all the regions. Apart from India, 10 other countries have been invited and it is not certain whether all of them will arrive in time, since there has been no word yet from Guyana and Mozambique.

The countries that will be represented by their Foreign Ministers are Algeria, Argentina, Cuba, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia, while Bangladesh is sending its Minister for Agriculture and Tanzania its Minister without portfolio, a relatively junior one in the Cabinet. The Indonesian Foreign Minister is due to leave tomorrow night itself after attending only one of the three ministerial-level sessions.

Colombo in touch: The Sri Lanka Government has been in touch with most of the invitees to this meeting and also the seven countries to be visited by the proposed group or groups in the first instance. The seven countries participating in the Williamsburg summit are Britain, Canada, France, Italy, West Germany, Japan and the United States.

The current thinking is that a team can be sent to the Soviet Union after the Williamsburg summit since the Comecon conclave in East Berlin is expected to take place only at the end of June, which would give enough time to chalk out the approach to Moscow in the light of the Western response to the appeal for cooperation in implementing the Delhi declarations.

There has been very little preparatory work from the Indian side for this ministerial meeting other than the drafting of a working paper for guidance. The spadework has been done to some extent by Sri Lanka, which has set its heart on implementing Mr J.R. Jayewardene's proposal as expeditiously as possible.

As Mrs Gandhi will not be personally leading any of the teams, one of the suggestions under consideration is that to start with there could be a mixed group of Foreign Ministers under the leadership of a head of State to give greater weightage to it, if for some reason it is not found feasible to send out a delegation of only heads of Government.

Opening Day's Proceedings

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 30 Apr 83 pp 1, 9

[Text] New Delhi, April 29--The first session of the ministerial meeting of the non-aligned countries on economic issues which convened here today with the Foreign Ministers of nine countries present appeared to be a non-starter considering that most of the time was spent by the Ministers in informal chats.

At least one of them--the Indonesian Foreign Minister--chose to return home on the opening day itself on the pretext of his presence being required in Djakarta during the Japanese Prime Minister's visit.

The Foreign Office spokesman told reporters today that the Ministers and officials, meeting together and not separately as had been indicated earlier, covered much ground in the context of the economic declaration of the New Delhi summit and the four major international economic conferences being held in the next few weeks.

He, however, was not even sure whether the meeting would send out suggestions or whether special missions would be deputed to establish contacts with the participants in the four scheduled major conferences.

The four meetings mentioned by the spokesman are the trade and development board meeting of UNCTAD in Geneva, the Williamsburg meeting of the developed countries, including Japan, the COMECON meeting and the UNCTAD meeting.

According to him, today's discussions centred mainly round the modalities of establishing contact with the participants in the four meetings. The current meeting of the Foreign Ministers in response to the call given by the chairperson

of the non-aligned movement, Mrs Gandhi, represented, in the words of one of the Foreign Minister's, "a unique mandate" which the non-aligned had given to the Indian Prime Minister in her capacity as the head of the movement for the next three years. It was a mandate which had the sanction of 75 heads of State and Government and to that extent the four international conferences could not but take notice of the New Delhi declaration on economic issues.

The meeting, informal as it was, considered the Algerian proposals as mentioned in the economic declaration, the Sri Lankan President's proposal about a heads of Government delegation visiting capitals of the developed countries, and the mandate given to the chairperson to take whatever steps she considered necessary in pursuance of the declaration.

Earlier in their opening remarks, led by the External Affairs Minister, Mr Narasimha Rao, the Ministers noted that the convening of the meeting was an important step in pursuance of the mandate given by the summit. It was perhaps for the first time in the history of the human race that as many as 75 heads of Government had given such a wideranging mandate to the chairperson of the non-aligned movement. The Ministers are due to meet again tomorrow.

Those who attended today's meeting were Tanzania's Mr Amir Habib Jamal, Minister without portfolio, Bangladesh's Mr A.Z.M. Obaidullah, Minister for Agriculture and Forests, Yugoslavia's Mr Lazar Mojsov, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sri Lanka's Mr A.C.S. Hameed, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Indonesia's Mr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Foreign Minister, Algeria's Mr Ahmed Taleb Ibrahim, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Argentina's Dr. Juan Ramon Aguirre Lanari, Foreign Minister, and Cuba's Mr Isidoro Malmierca, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Foreign Ministers of Mozambique and Guyana did not attend the meeting.

Earlier, according to the spokesman, Mr Narasimha Rao posed the points needing consideration in the form of a series of questions.

In his remarks, Mr Rao referred to the meeting of the Group of 77 in Buenos Aires. "I am glad that in view of our common concern, the general approach of the New Delhi summit to international economic issues received broad endorsement of the Buenos Aires meeting.

"In fact, the Group of 77 carried forward the work we accomplished here in New Delhi by adopting draft resolutions that would be the subject of negotiations at UNCTAD vi(i), he said.

In Washington, India has made a forceful plea before the world's Finance Ministers for following up the seventh non-aligned summit's proposal for an early convening of an international conference with universal participation on money and finance for development, says PTI.

Addressing the development committee of the IMF and the World Bank which opened its two-day session this morning, Mr M. Narasimham, Secretary for Economic Affairs and leader of the Indian Delegation, said the time had come for a comprehensive look at the structure of economic and financial relationships.

"We believe that partial, piecemeal and ad hoc measures for reform of existing institutions will not be enough," Mr Narasimham said and added: "Faced with big questions, the choice is either to act big or to walk in the shadow of failure that conventional wisdom has produced so far and will continue to produce." In his view, they did not have this choice.

In the course of his speech highlighting the crisis faced by developing countries, Mr Narasimham minced no words in deploring the "hesitations and inhibitions" in the matter of a large step-up in the lending programmes of the World Bank and other multilateral development institutions. He noted that over the next four years, the lending levels in real terms were programmed to remain virtually stagnant. "We need to impart a sense of urgency to a substantial increase in the capital resources of the Bank and to the evolution of a speedy consensus of such an increase", Mr Narasimham said.

He spoke at some length about the "disarray" concerning IDA and said the development committee should urge the USA to provide its full third-year payment of \$945 million in the fiscal year 1983 and to complete its IDA Six contribution by 1984.

Concluding Proceedings

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 1 May 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] New Delhi, April 30--The two-day ministerial meeting of the nine non-aligned countries concluded here today with a recommendation that India, as chairman of the movement, address communications to world leaders on the need to break the impasse in the North-South dialogue and to usher in a new international economic order, report UNI and PTI.

The conference was of the view that this non-aligned initiative had to be taken before the four major economic meetings are held in the next two months.

"It is important that these gatherings should be seized of the proposals of the seventh non-aligned summit on economic question," the Ministers felt.

A conference spokesman said that the question of sending non-aligned missions to various world capitals was discussed by the Ministers. It is understood that the proposal did not find favour.

Underlining the need to provide a new impetus to international economic cooperation, the nine-nation meeting, emphasized the importance of high-level contacts with the developed world to find solutions to the grave problems facing the world economy.

As an immediate measure, Mrs Gandhi was requested in her capacity as Chairperson of the non-aligned movement, to "address suitably" the U.S. President and other participants in the Williamsburg summit (in the USA), the Chairman of the German Democratic Republic and participants in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) being held in Berlin and members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development through its secretary-general.

She was also requested to invite in due course of time a group of Heads of State or Government of the movement to hold discussions with other world leaders on the substance of the New Delhi declarations and message.

The Ministers also recommended that leaders of non-aligned countries could, "as and when opportunities arise", convey the substance of the New Delhi declarations and message to the developed States.

According to a Press release issued at the conclusion of the meeting, the Ministers welcomed the initiative taken by the Chairperson of the movement to break the impasse in North-South dialogue and recalled this step was in continuation of the previous historic initiatives taken by the movement on international economic issues.

The focus of the meeting, according to the spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry, was on the fact that resumption of economic growth in the developing countries would not only promote recovery in the developed world but was also essential for sustained global economic growth. There was, therefore, the need to provide new impetus to international economic cooperation.

Our Special Representative adds: The spokesman was particularly severe on this reporter's description of the ministerial meeting as a "non-starter", but failed to produce evidence to establish that the meeting had been an unequivocal success. He strongly denied the suggestion made by a reporter today that some countries had protested against the manner in which India, as the chairman of the movement, had chosen to invite the eight Foreign Ministers to the two-day conference. He argued that the summit had authorized the Chairperson to take all necessary steps in pursuance of the economic declaration and as such, the question of any country objecting to the character of representation did not arise.

Mrs Gandhi hosted the reception for the heads of delegation who attended the ministerial conference, says UNI.

Cuba's Foreign Minister, Mr Isidor Malmierca, called on the Prime Minister today.

Failure To Agree Noted

Madras THE HINDU in English 1 May 83 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy: "Delhi Meet Fails To Agree on NAM Roving Group"]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 30.

The two-day ministerial meeting of the nine non-aligned nations, called to consider the Sri Lankan proposal for sending out representative groups to major developed countries to seek support for implementing the Delhi summit declarations on the world economic situation, ended today without any agreement on the desirability of such an initiative at this stage.

In leaving the proposal open for the present, the Ministers requested the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in her capacity as chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement, to communicate with the leaders of both the western and eastern blocs stressing the need for concerted steps to end the deepening structural disequilibrium in international economic relations.

The letters are to be addressed to the U.S. President, as host to the Williamsburg summit and to heads of other six nations participating in it, to the President of the German Democratic Republic who will host the Comecon summit in East Berlin and leaders of other Soviet bloc countries and to the members of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development through the Secretary-General of that organisation.

A major conference: A press release issued at the end of the ministerial meeting pointed out that the Williamsburg and Comecon summits and the OECD annual session would take place before UNCTAD VI, which was a major economic conference and the next U.N. General Assembly session. These would provide appropriate occasions for the non-aligned community to press forward with the summit declarations to create a better awareness of the need for an early resumption of global economic negotiations.

But the attempt to focus attention on these fundamental aspects could not conceal the fact that there were sharp differences among the nine non-aligned countries on the Sri Lankan proposal for sending out high-level NAM missions. Only Bangladesh supported the proposal, while all others voiced doubts with varying degrees of reservations, over the propriety or utility of sending out the groups.

Surprise: A surprising feature of the discussions at the meeting was that even Algeria, which was the first to suggest that a group of Foreign Ministers visit select countries before the Sri Lanka President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, came forward with the proposal for elevating it to the level of Heads of Government.

quietly backed out maintaining that the group would not serve any useful purpose now. The other countries like Argentina, Cuba, Indonesia, India, Tanzania and Yugoslavia were even less enthusiastic about the idea, although the Sri Lanka President pressed hard for its acceptance.

Though the Indian spokesman continued to maintain that there were no protests as such from other non-aligned countries over the criteria applied in inviting only 10 countries to this meeting in Delhi, Egypt and Iraq raised the issue at the meeting of the permanent representatives of the community at the U.N. with the obvious concurrence of some other countries which were equally unhappy over their exclusion.

But as a sop to Mr. Jayewardene, it was stated in the press release that the Ministers emphasised the importance of high level contacts with developed countries to impress upon them the urgent need for a North-South dialogue to resolve global economic problems. In this context the Ministers recommended that Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries could, as and when opportunities arise, convey the substance of the Delhi declarations and message to the leaders of the developed nations.

The Ministers called on Mrs. Gandhi this evening to convey formally their conclusions.

CSO: 4600/1127

FEARS OF INDUSTRY TAKEOVER BY OVERSEAS INDIANS NOTED

Rajiv Gandhi 29 Apr Speech

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 30 Apr 83 pp 1, 7

[Text]

MR RAJIV GANDHI said in the Lok Sabha on Friday that non-resident Indians; holdings in well-run industries should be limited to less than two or three per cent to prevent the "very real danger" of their takeover.

Participating in the resumed debate on the Finance Bill, he expressed the apprehension that certain forces not necessarily favourable to India could take over many of the industries under the existing law.

"Unless our financial institutions are careful, we will have foreign agencies, through Indians abroad, taking over companies which are running well", he warned.

Mr Gandhi covered the whole gamut of the issues facing the economy today in his 45-minute speech, which was repeatedly cheered by ruling party benches.

The debate was inconclusive. Other members who took part in the discussion included Mr. Chandrajit Yadav and Mr. Giridhari Lal Vyas.

FEARS REAL

Mr Gandhi, while recommending a ceiling on non-resident holdings, however, called for encouragement to Indians settled overseas for bringing in new technology. "What we need is new technology and new companies", he said, adding: "At the same time we cannot afford to allow the present companies to be in a state of flux in which they are now".

He, however, noted that the

fears expressed by the industry over takeover threats were "very real" and needed to be allayed.

Mr Gandhi said a substantial portion of the country's economy was out of the Government control. Unless the Government ensured the utilisation of finances in a productive manner "we will find it very difficult to progress at the rate in which we wanted to", Mr Gandhi added.

Stressing that some of the promises made in the Congress-I election manifesto should be attended to, Mr Gandhi said one of them was the rationalisation of Sales Tax. He wanted the Finance Minister to take active measures in cooperation with various States to rationalise the tax and reduce leakages.

Mr Gandhi said there had been lull in the production of goodgrains after it had reached a peak a few years ago. Also, there had been disparity in per acre yield in different States. Therefore food production had to be accelerated. For this the Government had to concentrate on the areas where production was low.

He said that cropping patterns were changing, and people were succumbing to market pressure. There was a shift from food crops to cash crops.

Drought for the fourth year, and third successive year of unseasonal rains had added to India's problems on the food front.

He said about Rs 24,000 crores

had been invested in public sector undertakings, excluding the Posts and Telegraphs and the Railways. But the return on the investment was only 2.5 per cent. If the petroleum companies were taken out, the percentage would slump to 1.5. This was one area from where considerable resources could be mobilised. By achieving a return of 10 per cent the country could raise half the finances required for the sixth Plan, he added.

He had a good word for Air India, which was competing with other major foreign airlines and was making profits. Due to good management.

Mr Gandhi said that one of the factors hampering the growth of Indian industries was the delay in starting production. He quoted examples of Bokaro second stage which was 83 months behind schedule, Bhilai (87 months), Trombay (58 months) and Haldia (84 months).

Presuming an average inflation rate of 10 per cent a year, a project 84 months behind schedule would cost 70 per cent more, Mr Gandhi added.

Mr Gandhi said India was in a position to "jump into the computer bandwagon." It did possess infrastructure, but tax structure had to be rationalised.

Mr Chandrajit Yadav blamed the "unholy alliance" between contractors and engineers for the delays in most projects.

Finance Minister's Announcement

Madras THE HINDU in English 3 May 83 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy: "Ceiling on Investment by Non-residents"]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 2.

The Union Finance Minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, announced in Parliament today the Government's decision to limit the portfolio investment of non-resident Indians in existing companies, without the prior permission of the Reserve Bank, to five per cent of the paid-up equity capital in each case.

Though he strongly defended the offer of tax incentives and facilities for repatriation of investments to non-resident Indians to encourage the inflow of foreign exchange, Mr. Mukherjee made this modification to prevent misuse of these concessions for take-over of established Indian companies with sound domestic management.

In his reply to the debate on Finance Bill in the Lok Sabha before its adoption, he said the financial institutions which had significant share-holdings in many important companies had been instructed to prevent any threatened take-over of Indian companies by non-resident Indians by availing themselves of the investment opportunities offered to them under this scheme. But he continued to maintain that the unusually high level of trading in the shares of some well-known companies had not been on a scale that could threaten the position of their existing managements.

Members' concern

The Finance Minister referred to the concern voiced by some Members of Parliament in the course of the debate. It became quite clear, after the intervention of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi on Friday, that Mr. Mukherjee would agree to impose some restrictions to protect well-run Indian companies from the threat of take-over. The Indian industrialists had been pleading for a ceiling of two per cent on such investments, but the Government decided on five per cent.

The original scheme permitted non-resident Indians to buy shares of Indian companies without any limit in the case of non-repatriable investments. A limit of one per cent of the paid-up equity capital was, however, imposed on repatriable investments by each non-resident

Indian availing himself of this scheme.

But even the new restrictions announced today, to allay the fears that these concessions could be misused to destabilise the Indian companies, did not preclude a higher level of investment above the five per cent ceiling, so long as the Reserve Bank's permission was got.

As the man largely responsible for the very generous concessions offered to them, the Finance Minister did not want to give the impression that he was letting down the non-resident Indians playing for high stakes under political pressure. The big industrialists had certainly mounted a powerful campaign in the

corridors of power and made even Mr. Rajiv Gandhi intervene with the demand that the loopholes be plugged to prevent possible misuse of these concessions.

And when he finally yielded and agreed to a five per cent ceiling on investments by the non-resident tycoons, he tried to give the impression that the safeguard was being provided at his own instance, and not under pressure from any quarter, least of all from the big industrial houses.

After getting this controversial issue out of his way, the Finance Minister dealt with a wide-range of issues raised during the debate, especially the repeated pleas for higher Central assistance to State Plans. The outlays, he said, had two components, budgetary support and resource mobilisation.

The States had been assigned the task of raising resources to the extent of Rs. 9,000 crores, and he was happy to note that they had done much better by mobilising Rs. 11,000 crores. But they had also allowed their resources base to be eroded by over-spending Rs. 6,000 crores. The best the Centre could do in these circumstances was to treat the overdrafts of States as advances. The position needed to be rectified further in consultation with them.

The Finance Minister also refuted the accusation of the former Prime Minister, Mr. Charan Singh, that the agricultural sector continued to be neglected to the detriment of rural development. He said one should take into account the heavy investments made on irrigation and power, besides agro-industries like fertilizer and tractor units. The over-all investment on agriculture thus accounted for 25 to 26 per cent of the budgetary allocations.

The proposed legislation for amending the Central Excise Act would incorporate the many recommendations made by the Economic Administration Reforms Commission. But it was neither feasible nor desirable, in Mr. Mukherjee's view, to attempt to maintain a parity between direct and indirect taxes as it existed in the past. The rationality of indirect taxes, notably customs duties, in a developing society was not determined by considerations of division of the revenues between the Centre and the States, but by the need to protect domestic production from undue foreign competition.

The Finance Minister, who spoke for nearly an hour, covered wide ground answering one by one the points raised by Members at various stages of the debate.

After the clause by clause consideration was completed, he piloted the Finance Bill to its logical conclusion of a final voice vote

Budget in November

Replying to the third reading (clause by clause) of the bill, the Finance Minister said the suggestion for presenting the budget in October-November was a matter that required serious thinking. By October-November the behaviour of monsoon and its effect on crops would be known (reports PTI).

The clause by clause reading took more than two and a half hours as there were number of non-official amendments to majority of the 59 clauses and five schedules, mostly by Mr. Satish Agarwal (BJP) and Mr. Somnath Chatterjee (CPI-M).

All the non-official amendments were either withdrawn or the House rejected them by voice vote.

The Rajya Sabha today returned the Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, authorising payment and appropriation of certain sums from the Consolidated Fund of India for the year 1983-84.

CSO: 4600/1118

SEMINAR ON TRADE WITH NORDIC COUNTRIES HELD

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 26 Apr 83 p 7

[Text] Minister of State for Commerce Ram Dulari Sinha on Saturday called for a systematic campaign to explore and expand technical and business cooperation between India and the Nordic countries namely Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland, reports PTI.

Inaugurating a seminar on "Indo-Nordic trade and economic relations in Delhi, the Minister said there was a wide 'communication gap' between trade and industry on the two sides about the potentialities existing in India as well as in the Nordic countries.

She said the total turnover of Indo-Nordic trade has been less than Rs 300 crores per year of which Indian exports stand at one-third.

The Minister noted that the number of cases of investments and collaborations in India from these countries is quite low considering the range, sophistication and advancement of industry in that region.

Commending the Nordic countries for their assistance to the developing world, Mrs Sinha said even at a time of international economic crisis, they had not wavered in their recognition of inter-dependence of nations.

Addressing the gathering, ambassador of Norway Mr Tancred Ibsen expressed optimism about the growth of Indo-Norwegian trade and said the government's of the two countries should encourage visits of business delegations to promote mutual cooperation.

He also stressed on transfer of technology from Norway in various industrial fields, specially, in hydro-electric power industry.

In his speech ambassador of Sweden Axel Edelstam said his Government had decided in principle to participate in the India International Trade Fair later this year in a bid to further penetrate into the Indian market.

Mr Edelstam said 35 per cent of Sweden's GNP depended on foreign trade and despite recession affecting the West, the possibility of trade between the two countries was bright.

Charge d'Affaires of Finland, Mikko Pyhala said although trade between Finland and India had not been that good in strictly monetary terms, it had increased 25 fold since 1975.

Within a period of five years, Finland had doubled its tea imports from India, he said.

Mr Pyhala said his country could offer technological cooperation in paper, pulp and related machinery and also advance technique of afforestation.

Earlier welcoming the delegates, president of Foreign Affairs Organisation of India M.K. Mohta said India should not be considered an exporter of handicrafts and primary agricultural products only, but also an exporter of sophisticated industrial products.

Mr Mohta stressed the need for removal of prejudices in the minds of peoples of developed countries against industrial products coming from developing nations.

He said India's exports to Sweden constitute only 9.30 per cent, to Denmark 0.12 per cent, to Norway 0.16 per cent and to Finland 0.27 per cent of their total global imports.

With the coming into effect measures initiated by the Government to facilitate investment and technology transfer, the FAAI president said the Nordic countries have before them an excellent opportunity.

CSO: 4600/1114

WRITER CONSIDERS PROBLEMS IN INDO-SOVIET TRADE

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMEN in English 1 May 83 p 8

[Editorial: "Trading With Russia"]

[Text] As the recent discussions between the two countries confirmed, serious difficulties have emerged in the way of expanding Indo-Soviet trade. The problems have risen mainly because of a concerted Soviet effort to reduce purchases from this country. The principal items to suffer have been textiles, cashew kernels, coffee, rice, oilcakes, pepper and cosmetics. The Russians have made no secret of their stand on the issue: they are worried over the growing trade deficit they are building up and would like a sharp increase in Indian imports to restore some balance to the trade exchange. The trend has been increasingly clear over the past three years: the trade protocol in 1981 envisaged Indian exports of Rs 1,440 crores and imports of Rs 1,500 crores. The actuals turned out to be roughly Rs 1,600 crores and Rs 1,300 crores respectively. The following year confirmed the trend, and by this year the gap between exports and imports in India's favour may be well over Rs 600 crores. The main reason for the fall in Indian imports is the reduction in purchases of crude oil and petroleum products, which formed the bulk of Russian exports to this country in the past. They were useful to India because of rising prices on the world market and the huge hard currency import bill. The rupee trade arrangement eased the strain on the foreign exchange reserves. With a falling international market, however, the need to buy Soviet crude and oil products is less pressing at the moment and the volume of imports has declined as a result.

Apart from the fact that the Russians are deliberately reducing imports from India, some items have suffered more than others because of other factors. Indian textile exports are said to be facing stiff competition from China which has recently concluded a trade agreement with the Russians. Brazil is said to be trying hard to enter the Soviet coffee market in a big way: it has extended 50 per cent discounts on internationally fixed prices in order to make its products more attractive. The Indian Coffee Board is reported to have offered a price-cut of 10 per cent, but the Russians have asked for a 20 per cent discount. Regarding cashew kernels, Moscow is reportedly taking an increasing interest in Afghan almonds and hazel-nuts as an alternative. The Russians have also refused to buy any more non-basmati rice because of allegedly poor quality. The message therefore, is clear: the Soviet market can no longer be taken for granted by Indian exporters. This, perhaps, is as it should be if only because

it may lead to a tightening up of quality control measures, for the good of the Indian export effort generally. At the same time, a similar improvement in Soviet exports of industrial equipment--for the steel, coal and power sectors--would be welcome from the Indian point of view; the quality of these, too, has been a subject of complaint. In fact, it is in this field that the Russians can increase their exports and help narrow their adverse trade deficit. But it is revealing how Moscow tries to exert pressure on New Delhi to reduce the deficit.

CSO: 4600/1119

BRIEFS

GUINEA-BISSAU VISITOR--New Delhi, April 23:--The external affairs minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, today emphasised the need for increased South-South economic co-operation especially in view of the current complicated international situation. Speaking at a dinner in honour of Mr Samba Lamine Mane, foreign minister of Guinea Bissau, Mr Rao said that South-South co-operation had become highly relevant and India was working towards this end. As chairman of the non-aligned movement, more responsibilities had devolved on India and it would need the advice of all the member states to discharge its responsibilities in the next three years. The two ministers held talks earlier on bilateral relations. Mr Mane referred to the problems of his country such as food shortage, which affected many parts of Africa. Earlier on his arrival on a five-day visit here, the Guinea Bissau foreign minister said his country was interested in getting Indian assistance in the fields of industry, health and education. Mr Rao later responded by saying that India would be happy to share its technical know-how with Guinea Bissau. India has promised to provide medicines and food to meet Guinea-Bissau's needs, reports UNI. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 24 Apr 83 p 9]

ITALIAN SCHOLARSHIPS--New Delhi, April 24.--As part of its technical cooperation, the Italian Government is offering a series of scholarships to Indian nationals in highly specialised courses in the fields of agriculture, engineering, geothermics, management, tourism and telecommunications. In addition, the Italian National Institute of Foreign Trade has offered to meet the expenses of a number of both public and private sector executives for an intensive two-month course in Rome on the role of foreign trade in economic development, international marketing and techniques of export promotion. The highly specialised training that is being offered to candidates selected by the Government of India include agriculture, irrigation and animal breeding, renewable energy and small-scale power generation, refrigeration, marine electrical engineering, agricultural mechanisation and computer sciences, business management, development of tourism, digital system for improved telecommunications, geothermics and other inter-related sciences. [By G.K. Reddy] [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 25 Apr 83 p 9]

MACHINERY TO BULGARIA--Bombay, April 28:--Star Industrial and Textile Enterprises, Bombay, has entered into an agreement with Technoexport, the engineering economic organisation of Bulgaria, for marketing of textile machinery and equipment produced in each country. The agreement also contains transfer of technical assistance to each other in production, machine development and setting up projects

in third countries. This unique type of umbrella agreement was a sequel to the recent visit to this country by a Bulgarian delegation under the leadership of Mr Georgi Vutev, first deputy minister of foreign trade in Bulgaria. The total value of contracts proposed to be finalised between the two is expected to be Rs 10 crores within next three years. The first two contracts amounting to Rs. 20 lakhs have been already signed, under which Technoexport will purchase the entire requirement of textile machinery of the Bulgarian ministry of light industry. Besides, both have agreed to introduce in India the special design spinning and twisting machines. India thus becomes the first country outside Comecon to have been given the right for joint manufacturing facilities in India. [Text]
[Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 29 Apr 83 p 22]

CSO: 4600/1111

EFFORTS MADE TO DISPOSSESS PROPERTY OWNED BY SHAH

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 9 May 83 p 2

[Text] Dr Manuchehr Mohammadi, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister and Chief of the Office of International Legal Services of the Islamic Republic of Iran, discussed steps that have been taken by this office to recover property plundered by the former shah and his associates in an interview with the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY. He began by saying: Actually, in order to protect its lackeys in the countries under its dominion, imperialism tries to create a kind of financial and physical safety for them in the Western countries, so that these submissive people may be assured of being able to live peacefully and without apprehension in the West after they fall from power. With this in mind imperialism tries to prevent legal prosecution and the confiscation and return of their property.

He added: On the other hand, a great many Western banks base their activities on the use of plundered property and money from third-world countries, which their submissive leaders have transferred to these banks, thereby acquiring security for their own property. Going even further than this, there are even companies in the West that are experienced in hiding the property of thieves like this and who do so. Because of these things, since most of the property of these idolaters is in the form of cash, acquiring information as to the amount of it and its location is not only difficult, it is impossible. Only their unconverted property can be located; it can be obtained upon the issuance of a court order, but it is insignificant compared to what has been stolen by these submissive people.

He added: In view of the aforementioned points, the steps taken by the Islamic Republic of Iran to recover property are as follows: On the basis of Articles 12 and 15 of the Algerian Resolution, the government of the United States is obligated to prevent any kind of transport or transfer of the property when it is identified, and to enforce decisions handed down by Iranian courts in its own courts. On the basis of what has occurred so far, however, America has not taken the smallest step on these matters, and it has not identified or confiscated any of the property of the shah and his family.

The Presentation of Iranian Claims in the Court

With regard to the presentation of Iranian claims on the above property in domestic and foreign courts, Dr Mohammadi said: A number of claims have been

filed in America against the shah and his family. These claims include one claim for \$56 billion "damages" against the shah and his family. The New York court ruled that it was not within its jurisdiction to hear this case, and this decision was challenged by Iran in an appeals court. A claim was also filed against Ashraf Pahlavi for \$3 billion in damages in the New York court. This court agreed to hear the case, and the property which had been directly identified by Iran was identified for the court and confiscated. This property is worth more than \$7 million. The royalties for Ashraf's book have also been impounded. Other properties of hers has also been identified in France and Spain, and legal steps to impound them are being taken. Claims have also been filed against Shams Pahlavi and his wife Pahlbod asking for \$6 billion. So far \$8 million worth of property have been confiscated from them. Claims have been filed for \$26 billion against Fatemeh Pahlavi and the rest of the accursed affiliates of the Pahlavi family have been filed in the Southern District of New York; unfortunately the court has not yet taken any significant steps because it has been unable to obtain their address. The deputy Prime Minister added: Claims for five million Swiss Franks have been filed against Taj ol-Moluk Pahlavi (the mother of the traitor shah) and a verdict has been handed down in absentia in favor of the Islamic Republic. Fortunately, the aforementioned sum has been identified in a Swiss bank, and it is now being held by the government of Iran. Shams and Ashraf have appealed the decision, and if the decision is upheld the aforementioned sum will be used by the government of Iran. On the other hand, the accursed shah's Saint Maritus Villa in Switzerland, valued at 600 million rials, has been confiscated by Iran, and by order of a judgement issued by the courts of Iran of 10 billion rials against the shah, judicial steps are being taken now to confiscate this villa. Claims have also been filed in England for two Rolls Royces that Farah and her son were planning to repossess. There are high hopes that these two valuable automobiles (they are antiques) will be turned over to Iran. There is also an extensive estate worth \$2 million that had been owned by the Imperial Stables. With regard to this also claims were filed in London, and we presented decisive documents and proved that Iran owns the estate, but in view of the enormous expense of maintaining it, the government of Iran agreed that the estate should be sold, and the proceeds are now in the possession of Iran.

The Deputy Prime Minister and Chief of the Office of International Legal Services, concerning the manner of presenting claims on these matters in Iranian courts, said: So far 26 claims have been filed in Iranian courts by various banks and by the Ministry of Finance and Property. Decisions have been handed down on some of them; for the others, confiscation orders have been issued or are being issued. In this confiscation he referred to the difficulties Iranian banks are having with the high costs of presenting claims and pursuing court action in Iran. He said: The Office of International Legal Services of the Islamic Republic has sent a bill to the government that would exempt the aforementioned banks from the court costs. If the bill is enacted, the presentation of these claims will take place more quickly. Dr Mohammadi noted: With regard to the United States Government's failure to carry out its commitments under the Algerian Resolution with regard to the shah's property, a suit for \$10 billion in damages has been filed in the arbitration court for claims between America and Iran at the Hague. The suit has not yet been heard. At the conclusion of

the interview, while affirming this office's continued active pursuit of its work to recover Iran's property, despite existing difficulties, Dr Mohammadi called upon all dear compatriots at home and abroad to provide this office, its foreign offices, or the Iranian embassies, with information they have concerning the property of the shah and his family, and even that concerning escaped idolaters, for whose prosecution plans have been made.

9310

CSO: 4640/217

KHOMENISM DEFINED AS 'ANTITHESIS OF ISLAM'; KHOMEYNI 'HERETIC, RENEGADE'

Paris IRAN LIBRE in French 2 May 83 pp 1-3

[Text] Peroncel-Hugoz, contributor to LE MONDE and an expert on Eastern problems, has just published a remarkable work: "Le Radeau de Mahomet" [Mohammad's Raft], which deals with the Muslim question. We cannot recommend the book too highly to our readers, for it reveals the true essence of Islamic fundamentalism, whose disastrous aspects it emphasizes.

Too often in the West, there is a tendency to confuse Islam and Khomeynism. The excesses of the Tehran tyrant are attributed to the teachings of the Prophet Mohammad and too many observers view the *faghih* as the heir -- harmful, but authentic on the whole -- of "Allah's messenger." The Muslim religion is made responsible for all the aberrations perpetrated by the Islamic Republic: enslavement of women, obscurantism, fanaticism, the persecution of minorities. This widespread opinion results in a generalized feeling of hostility with regard to Islam itself. The consequences of this state of mind are serious. Appearances must not mask objective realities. Mohammadans are joined together today by only the most backward elements of the underdeveloped countries and their faith is viciously denigrated throughout the world. Obviously, one must pay no heed to the "oil-type" political conversions of a Bongo or a Bokassa, or to the publicity-seeking apostasies of a Roger Garaudy. And yet, such discredit is unjust because it is based on a totally erroneous analysis. Khomeynism is not Islam; on the contrary, it is the living antithesis of it. Naturally, by their very nature, all revealed religions give rise to some deviations and Islam is no exception. Anyone who believes he has the absolute truth inevitably tends to impose it at any price. It is true that certain ulemas or Muslim leaders have always turned out to be sectarian and despotic. But their behavior has been systematically picked out by Westerners, who have found in it full justification for their prejudices. Peroncel-Hugoz recalls in a most timely fashion the resounding declarations by Cardinal Lavigerie, who, at the end of the 19th century, claimed, in order to dishonor Islam, to assimilate it with the most backward fanaticism. The author -- and this is one of his greatest merits -- also evokes the strong reactions on the part of the Muslim elite, who, at the time, stated the facts in their proper perspective. Despite the overwhelming hostility of society at the time, one prominent Egyptian personality, Ahmad Chafik, took it upon himself to remind the Western powers of a few fundamental truths they too often prefer to forget: Islam has never encouraged slavery. If it did not eliminate it in the very beginning, it was because the institution was imposed by the economic situation

of medieval Arabia. Christianity during its earliest times acted no differently. And yet, the Prophet did everything to humanize the practices of servitude, instructing masters not to separate families and to treat their slaves benevolently. Naturally, legislation on slavery continued in Saudi Arabia until after World War II, when it had disappeared from West Europe over a thousand years previously. But this anomaly is explained by economic and not religious considerations. The Arabia of Abdel-Aziz Ibn Saoud had the same social structures as those of Abu Bakr. It needed slaves to ensure its survival. Proof of this is that in 1936, Ethiopia still had slaves, Ethiopia, the dean of Christian nations! As for Eastern women, it is not to Islam that they owe their unfortunate situation. Rather, it is to a tradition lost in time. Far from keeping women enslaved, the Prophet made great efforts to restore their dignity. In one of his finest discourses, he speaks to his first wife, Khadidjeh, "the mother of believers": "When I was troubled, you consoled me. When I was cold, you comforted me. When I doubted, you reassured me." In religious literature, one finds few such explicit homages to a woman. Mohammad was unable to do away with polygamy, but he regulated it, bringing the number of legitimate wives permitted down to four and imposing such standards on multiple marriages that he made them as difficult as possible. Naturally, historically speaking, the propagation of Islam resulted in the degradation of the fate of women everywhere. But which Islam are we speaking of? Of an already heretical Islam, dominated by the Omayyads, who, during the life of the Prophet, had been his bitterest enemies. Furthermore, as everyone knows, polygamy exists in the West just as much as it does in the East, whether one is referring to the Christian or agnostic West. However, between these two societies, there is an essential difference: Eastern polygamy is official and legal. It therefore places overwhelming family and financial responsibilities on men. Western polygamy is semi-official and hypocritical. It allows men total freedom to act as they wish and to avoid the consequences of their failures. In Europe and America, one fact cannot be denied: Casanova is a hero; Anna Karenina is condemned.

As for the persecution of non-Muslims, it has never been deliberate and the Prophet asked his disciples to protect Christians and Jews. While it is true, as Peroncel-Hugoz indicates, that the Copts of Egypt have often been mistreated, Iran set an example of tolerance before the time of Khomeyni. Mohammad Reza Shah prohibited any persecution of the members of minority cults, faithful to the doctrine of Mohammad which he followed devotedly. It was not any accident -- and history will so record it -- that the first victim of Khomeynism was the most fervent of the Muslim chiefs of state.

Khomeyni is the anticaliph. He is a heretic and worse, a renegade. All his acts go against the commandments of the Koran and his only role in the religious domain is to play into the hands of the bitterest adversaries of Islam. The Iranian people have never truly approved of him. He subjugated them by force, just as Omar had once done. Conquered but not deceived, the people are crushed by the yoke of an implacable dictator. It is enough to reread our national history to be convinced of this. How could our country approve the massacre of nonconformists, a nation that venerates Cyrus, whose very name is a synonym for emancipation? How could it applaud the degradation of women, a nation which, during the glorious times of the Sassanids, was governed by

queens? Furthermore, it is from Iran that the most courageous protests against the fundamentalist perversion now come. It is the ayatollahs themselves who denounce the deviations of the false imam. But alas! What can a nation do, left to itself and bled white by the most abominable of all regimes? Its voice is stifled, its revolt crushed. It must be aided, but no one comes to the rescue. In the land of Islam, there is no lack of philosophers, thinkers and writers who have the audacity to condemn fundamentalism, and yet, in their isolation, they cannot be effective. If one wants to save the Muslim world and thereby save the West, it is necessary to act.

All the great universities of the Ummah [community] must solemnly condemn Khomeyni, as they have done in the past, following the leadership of the great Ghazali, when they condemned the dissolute leaders of the Spanish Taifa. It is not by passive resistance that we will get rid of the fundamentalist scourge (as the tragic end of Sadat demonstrates). Rather, it must be by fighting it relentlessly, by demystifying it and restoring Islam's true image. Khomeyni will never be overturned by the armed struggle alone. A *fetoua* is needed to sweep him away once and for all.

11,464

CSO: 4619/62

REPORTER VISITS ADOLESCENT CAMP OF IRANIAN POW'S

Paris LE FIGARO in French 20 Apr 83 p 5

[Article by Christine Deval: "They Are Between 11 and 17 Years Old: Iranian Adolescent POW's in Iraq"]

[Text] The camp of Wara, Ramadi, 120 kilometers from Baghdad, on the highway that leads to Amman, a former Iraqi army barracks, has been converted into a prison camp since the beginning of the war. Two-thirds of these POW's are children between the ages of 11 and 17. The legs of most of them are mutilated, broken or shattered, because the Iranian army sends them out as "scouts" on the mine fields laid by the Iraqis.

In one of the hospital wards, Hassan proudly hides his mutilated legs as soon as I approach him. He says he is 16 years old: he is 13 at the very most. Throughout the visit, we felt somewhat embarrassed and tried, with side glances, to examine the children, many of whom had been captured at the time of the confrontations of last week. Their large, black eyes stare at us impassively, at times with arrogance. However, some hide under their bedclothes to prevent us from seeing them.

Some of these adolescents were torn from their families and dragged off to war by force, but most of them come straight from that school of "fanaticism" that turns them into men who are almost tougher than the professional soldiers whom we shall see later in the hospital wards. The latter are able-bodied and did not object to talking with us, accepting their condition almost philosophically.

Are these Iranian prisoners children? They certainly are not. Only one of them condescended to smile at me when, as a desperate gesture, I made the "V for victory" sign. He answered me by making the same gesture.

As you go through the corridors of the hospital, you shudder as you think of the rampage of slaughter of which these "kids" would be capable, if they were provided with weapons. "I went to war, because everyone else was going," we were told by a 15 year old.

In a corner of the ward, a bandage around his head, completely shapeless and no doubt at death's door, a 14 year old child, his arms and legs tied to the

bars of the bed, attracts our attention: "A bullet in the head," we are told laconically by the doctor on duty. But why tie him in? Actually there is no danger than he will fall out: there are about two beds for three persons and they are shoved so closely together that you would have to be as thin as a string to fall down in the space left between them. Would the fanaticism drilled into them by Khomeyni disappear once they found themselves in the Iraqi prisons?

One thing must be admitted: these Iranian prisoners are well-treated. They are allowed 15 dinars (45 dollars) per month with which to buy chocolate, cigarettes, etc., in the barracks store. They can engage in sports activities every day and the International Red Cross (when it is not the Palestinian Red Crescent) visits them at least once a month.

Sad Looks

And that is all except for the fact that throughout our hospital visit, their black eyes will follow us, without hatred, yes, but with no sparkle.

In the camp for able-bodied prisoners, the Iraqis bring to us a group of children ranging from 12 to 15 years of age and "select" for us the smallest and youngest as the spokesman. His throat choked up, the youngster admits to us that he is 13 years old, then his speech is cut off. Was it a fear of reprisals from his comrades, who were keeping a sharp eye on him or a pure and simple refusal to talk? We shall never know. But when I was about to leave, I went back and could see that he was on the verge of tears.

Somewhat less dramatic (if I may dare to say so) is the case of this surgeon, an Iranian national, who had a clinic in the United States. When he learned that his brother had been taken prisoner at the very beginning of the war, he flew to his aid, saved his wife and children, and since then has been a prisoner at Wara, where he assists the chief physician. Slaps on the back, embraces, we have the right to the whole show of understanding between these two warriors on campaign.

Another interesting case: a pilot who speaks perfect English and had obviously gone to school in the United States and who, as early as the first weeks of the war, was the target in his Phantom of a SAM-5 in full flight. He was left horribly marked: he is in his third period of cardiac crisis and comes back to the hospital every month for a check-up. "As soon as I'm freed, I'm going to rush back to the United States where my wife and children are," he shouts emphatically. But barely three minutes of discussion were enough to cover him with sweat and a soldier has to keep drying his face with a handkerchief.

Finally, we leave the camp under a hail of jeers from the children, who, hanging on to the gratings of their prison, spit in our faces as they shout: "monkey! monkey!"

8089

CSO: 4619/67

NEW NAVY CHIEF DISCUSSES FUTURE PLANS, TRAINING OF PERSONNEL

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 2 May 83 p 2

[Text] Military Service--In an exclusive interview with ETTELA'AT's military service reporter, First Captain Esfandiyar Hosseyni, the Navy's new commander, gave his views concerning the Navy, Persian Gulf security, the Navy's new operations, Iraq's attack on Iran's petroleum facilities, the Navy's self-sufficiency campaign, and expansion of technical and specialist training in the Navy.

Concerning the status of the naval fronts, First Captain Hosseyni stated: In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate--Praise to the revolution's great leader and Islam's martyrs, particularly the martyrs of the Islamic revolution and the imposed war. Now that I have been entrusted with this responsibility I feel I should present to the Muslim nation the plans and general programs we have for the various situations the Navy is confronting.

First of all, our programs in general accord with Khomeyni's ever-present command that the fundamental issue is the war. We have made the advance of the war operations our fundamental concern. Of course our Navy brothers have been able to carry out naval combat operations very well from the beginning of the imposed war up to the present. We also hope to teach Saddam and the Ba'thists a lesson with new action as well as continuing our previous operations. We are firmly committed to resisting with all our power aggression and actions in the Persian Gulf that are occurring, and plots that are occurring to disrupt Persian Gulf security. Of course we know that the super-satans are trying with all their might to keep Saddam's moribund regime on its feet. They think it possible to keep this half-dead regime on its feet with advanced technology. What we believe is that we will keep on resisting just as we have been resisting so far, with the same equipment and resources that we have at our disposal, relying on the divine will, the imam's guidance, and the efforts of the self-sacrificing naval personnel.

Ba'thist Regime's Aggression

Concerning the attack of Iraq's Ba'thist regime on Iran's oil facilities in the Persian Gulf and its consequences, First Captain Hosseyni stated: Iraq's naval attacks on Iran's oil drilling platforms has clearly shown that Iraq cannot carry out any action militarily on the sea. It is for this very reason

that it uses plots and political action. An attack with a long-distance guided missile on an oil platform without any air defense in an area where there has been no combat whatsoever cannot be termed a naval combat operation. Wherever Iraq has tangled with the Islamic republic's naval units, it has achieved nothing except being pummeled, destroyed or forced to flee. It will not gain anything more in the future either.

Of course we have plans to further box Iraq's ears, but we cannot bring up any details at this time. God willing, we will prove to Ba'thist-Zionist Saddam that what was true on land is true on the sea as well. On the land he relied on the Zionist propaganda that the superpowers got underway for him world-wide and the super-modern equipment that they gave him, and yet he was unable to do anything and withdrew disgracefully in the end. It is the same way at sea, for it is not equipment that battles, but faith, belief, and the martyrdom-seeking spirit of the Muslim nation, which will be victorious in the end. This is divine destiny and God's glad tidings.

We also believe that whatever weapons or equipment he purchases, as he has done and in so doing broken the back of his economy, it will have no effect on the final result on the sea. We will stand up against that, just as we will stand up against his bosses if it is necessary.

The Navy's new commander added: We hope, God willing, to be able to give the Iranian nation the good news about what we have been saying today with such confidence, and tell them the news about operations we carried out.

Navy's Self-sufficiency

Concerning naval self-sufficiency and plans that will take place, the Navy's new commander stated: The Navy must utilize equipment, particularly naval equipment, and naval specialties, and these involve naval technology and related sciences.

We have extremely expert personnel in the Navy. Our current plan is to organize all these specialties, and activate the self-sufficiency campaign in the Navy so that, God willing, we can achieve self-sufficiency in spare parts and naval technology with the maximum speed and efficiency. Thus the superpowers will realize they spoke empty words when they announced that the status of the Iranian Navy was unclear due to the departure of the naval advisors and printed this in their books. So far the Navy of the Islamic republic has been able to show its naval combat activities to a high degree, and has had a great number of successful operations against the Iraqi infidels.

Self-sufficiency will be a very important future line for the Navy to follow, and God willing, we will be able to inform the Party of God nation about the progress of our work as we gradually achieve practical results.

Expansion of Specialist Training

Concerning the expansion of specialist training in the Navy, the Navy commander stated: Expertise in the Navy formerly relied totally on foreigners. At the

present time, however, praise God, the Naval University has begun its activities. We will create specialty courses, and we have plans for our brothers in the Navy to transfer as quickly as possible their knowledge of technology and naval science which they previously had gotten from the advanced countries to the younger generation and beloved brothers that gradually join this service. God willing, this will become a permanent process helping us towards future research, true self-sufficiency and technology synchronized with the earlier plan I presented.

Meeting with Revolution's Leader

Concerning his meeting yesterday morning with imam Khomeyni, the great leader of the Islamic revolution, First Captain Hosseyni stated: His guidance always shows us the fundamental intellectual and practical lines for us to follow, and certainly, beyond anything else, has had a great effect on our morale and intellectual strengthening. I hope I am truly worthy of the responsibility that has been entrusted to me. The guidance of the revolution's leader is truly the key to solving these problems.

In general he gave guidance about what lines to follow on issues connected with the Navy, and stated that we should not be afraid of the problems in any case because we are following divine instructions. He stated that world Zionist propaganda now relies on our fear. This meeting was not solely an official matter for me, but also one of guidance, that is to say, guidance about how I can carry out the work entrusted to me. At the end of the interview First Captain Esfandiyar Hosseyni sent a message to the ever-involved, struggling nation of Iran, and said: I beseech all the Muslim people of Iran, the families of martyrs, the families of the heroes of the imposed war, and all the strata of the people to pray for me that I may be capable of accomplishing the work entrusted to me and accomplish this work suitably in the path of God and in the implementation of our great imam's instructions.

9597

CSO: 4640/216

CZECH PRESS PUBLISHES TEXT OF TUDEH STATEMENT ON ARRESTS IN IRAN

AU201230 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 May 83 p 6

["Declaration of the Foreign Committee of the Party of the Masses of Iran; On the Events in the Islamic Republic of Iran"]

[Text] A few days ago we carried a CTK report about the contents of a declaration published by the Foreign Committee of the Party of the Masses of Iran (Tudeh) in RACHE TUDE (PATH OF THE MASSES), which is published in West Berlin in Persian. Today we publish the full text of this declaration:

Dear fellow countrymen!

Honest people all over the world!

Our homeland is witnessing more than peculiar events which are in sharp contrast to all norms of morality and ethics, the ancient cultural traditions of the Iranian people, and the norms of international law. With the support of imperialist states, which are longing to regain the lost paradise in Iran, the forces of internal counterrevolution have launched a large-scale attack on the Party of the Masses of Iran--the solid safeguard of the independence, freedom, and progressive social changes in Iran.

By using moral pressure and brute physical force, the Iranian security service has forced some fighters and patriots from the ranks of the leading representatives and rank-and-file members of the Party of the Masses of Iran to confess crimes they had not committed and has staged a long planned and rehearsed show, the aim of which was not only to prepare the ground for a raid against the Party of the Masses of Iran but also to create prerequisites for a complete liquidation of the gains of the Iranian revolution.

The Party of the Masses of Iran emphatically denies the accusations leveled against it by the respective authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which obtained "evidence" by means of torture and then used for their aims "confessions" extorted by torture. The Party of the Masses of Iran regards as barbarous, inhuman, and immoral the old police methods used by these authorities at the behest and with the support of agents of the CIA, Intelligence Service [published in English], Mossad, "experts" from SAVAK, and protectors of capitalists and large estate owners. As already stated in the

declaration of the party's Central Committee office of 1 May, the Party of the Masses of Iran demands that the authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran make it possible for a neutral international commission of observers made up of lawyers and physicians to meet the defendants and thus clear up before the Iranian people and the whole world the methods by means of which the "confessions" were obtained.

The history of the heroic struggle of the Party of the Masses of Iran--a party of working people, a party of martyrs, a party whose members have been sentenced to tens of thousands of years in prison--must not be defiled by fabrications that are spread by the agents of capitalists and large estate owners at the behest of imperialist espionage services. This cannot be achieved by medieval torture, nor by torment or other methods. The shah's secret service SAVAK and imperialist secret services, which have 40 years of experience, are well aware of this. That is why they are employing against the party the "most sophisticated" instruments of barbarous and inhuman torture.

The Party of the Masses of Iran, which has been and remains defender of the national interests and a fighter for independence, territorial integrity, and sovereignty of the country, could never collect and make available to individuals, organizations, or foreign services intelligence data; the "confession" about their collecting was dictated by the torturers to their defenseless victims. Members of the Party of the Masses of Iran have never held offices in any military or civilian agencies and have had no access to documents and materials referred to by representatives of the repressive organs.

Nor has the Party of the Masses of Iran ever had any "dangerous conspiratorial organization" which the respective representatives of the authorities are trying to present as a grave threat to the Iranian ruling circles.

The claims, dictated by the torturers to the victims of their crimes, that in the initial stages of the revolution small groups of party members were amassing and hiding weapons with the aim of overthrowing the regime are nothing but a lie. This becomes particularly evident when we realize that the party clearly instructed its members to hand over any weapons they might have. This instruction was complied with.

Throughout the postrevolutionary period, the party's activity was legal and lawful and was carried out with the approval of the responsible officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Party of the Masses of Iran has been pursuing a clear policy vis-a-vis the ruling circles of the Islamic Republic. It was based on alliance with them and on criticism of individual actions. The party voted in favor of the Constitution and has been, and remains, one of the most reliable forces in implementing it.

The Party of the Masses of Iran has not only not been preparing the dagger for a stab in the back but has itself neutralized a number of plots against the revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran. How, then, can one agree with the assertion that the Party of the Masses of Iran allegedly was involved in plans to overthrow the Islamic Republic? We are convinced that it is

precisely the decisive orientation toward defending our revolution that has generated the rabid wrath of the enemies of the party of the Iranian workers class.

Our party has declared more than once, and repeats again, that it has been maintaining normal and generally accepted relations with all progressive parties and organizations in the world. We have expressed, and continue to express solidarity with all progressive, anti-imperialist forces all over the world striving for independence. The rightwing forces and agents of imperialism and counterrevolution that have infiltrated the ruling circles and government agencies have consolidated their positions, especially in the last 1½ years. They thought it necessary to stage a television show to deceive public opinion in Iran and abroad, the objective of which was to gradually seize all power.

The fabrication that the policy of the Party of the Masses of Iran is steered from Moscow and that other parties interfere in its internal affairs will bring no glory for its authors in the Islamic Republic of Iran and for the stage directors of the show. Similar fabrications had been invited by the predecessors of the present hangmen--Hitler, Mussolini and the like. Common features in the policy of the Party of the Masses of Iran and other fraternal parties and organizations could not and cannot serve as evidence of our "dependence." We cannot, in order to prove our so-called "independence," speak out against the policy of peace and friendship of the socialist countries and fraternal parties or against their fraternal assistance to national liberation movements, including their support for the Iranian revolution. Yet only in this case would world imperialism and its agents in Iran "allow" us to call ourselves independent.

The Foreign Committee of the Party of the Masses of Iran once again repeats the warning, emphatically uttered 1½ years ago, that our revolution is in jeopardy. Imperialists and their agents in our hard-tested country are preparing a putsch, modeled on the events of 19 August 1953.

Dear fellow countrymen, honest people all over the world!

Only your complete readiness to defend the gains of the revolution, including political freedoms, and your united protest against the unlawful actions of the authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran can save our homeland and people from the unavoidable fall into the abyss of medieval oppression and bondage. 14 Ordibekhest 1362 (4 May 1983)

CSO: 2400/289

POLITICIANS SUBMIT TO MARTIAL LAW, FAIL TEST OF DEMOCRACY

Karachi AMN in Urdu 28 Mar 83 p 2

[Article by Juma Khan: "Politicians Continue To Work for the Same Old Wages; Without Democratic Tolerance, Democracy Will Continue To Be Followed by Martial Law Every Time"]

[Text] Political parties do not exist under martial law and political activity is forbidden as well. Political statements and speeches cannot be published; political gatherings and meetings are forbidden. Martial law operates only at the will of the commander and not according to any law; that is why it is called "no law"; that is, a system that does not function in accordance with any law. That is why politics goes on in spite of all martial law ordinances. Political activity also continues; political statements and speeches are reported in the newspapers; political meetings and political gatherings are held. All the defunct political parties maintain their separate identities. Some parties have also held their own elections.

The commander imposes restrictions on certain political activities whenever he wishes. Some individuals are allowed every kind of political activity while others are not even permitted to move around. Some are free; some are in jail; others are under house arrest. The true definition of martial law is that it is the commander's wishes and not the law that is enforced. Some have been jailed for years without trial; others who have served their terms in jail are still being held there. A number of people are arrested at the same place for the same activity; but on the commander's orders, some are released, others are put in jail or brought to trial. Such incidents are not surprising under martial law. A government official is arrested for accepting a few rupees as a bribe and in spite of demands for his release, he is given exemplary punishment. A government official may be arrested for embezzling a few thousand or a hundred thousand rupees and punished. But when a former minister is accused of accepting a bribe of 10 million rupees, the case is not even brought to court. When a former president of Free Kashmir, Sardar Abdul Qayyum, accuses the retiring former president of embezzling 1.5 billion rupees and demands an audit, no orders are given for an investigation.

Not a day passes without some politician's political speech appearing in the newspapers demanding that elections be held under the 1973 constitution, that basic rights, civil liberties and the powers of the judiciary be restored, that the reins of government be handed over to the elected representatives

of the people. Some say that postponement of the elections is against the interests of the country; some warn that martial law will not be tolerated much longer. The leader of one party has said that wasting time waiting for positive results to appear would in fact produce negative results; hence, elections should be held to ensure the strength and prosperity of the country. Another politician says that the rights of the people cannot be suppressed for long. All these statements were published in the Saturday, 26 March newspapers. The leaders making these statements do not say what they will do if their suggestions or demands are not accepted. They remind one of the story of the mill worker who demanded that the mill owner raise his wages. When the mill owner asked angrily what he would do if his demand was not accepted, the frightened worker tremblingly replied, "Then I will work for the same old wages." These politicians have also been screaming for elections, for the removal of martial law and the restoration of democracy, but the government pays no attention. Like the mill worker, these politicians have been working for the same old wages for the past 5 1/2 years. In a speech published in JASARAT, Qazi Hussain Ahmad, secretary general of the defunct Jamaat-e Islami, said that martial law could not be tolerated "for long." In a speech published in several newspapers, Sardar Sherbaz Mazari, leader of the defunct National Democratic Party, said that the rights of the people could not be suppressed "for long." Both these leaders used the term "for long." We would like to know what they mean by "for long." Martial law has been in effect for 5 1/2 years; in the past, we have never been under martial law for such a long period of time. Are 5 1/2 years not long enough? Even after this long period, we still hear that martial law cannot be tolerated for long. No politician will relinquish this vague term and mention a definite time and date. General Zia uses the term "suitable time" and "favorable conditions" when speaking of general elections. He too is not ready to mention a time and date. The politicians are groping to find a way in the dark.

Pir Pagara, leader of a Muslim League group in the country, regards his Muslim League as the sole representative political party. He has said that the MRD might wage a struggle against the government all the way to the bathroom [as published], but the Muslim League would not support such a movement. He does not say whether his Muslim League is ready to carry on the struggle beyond the bathroom. If the MRD cannot wage an effective struggle, then Pir Pagara should start one himself; but he is not ready to do that either. He considers others incapable of carrying on an effective struggle but is not willing to prove his own capability in this regard. He is an astrologer as well as a dreamer. He says that if prayers are answered, elections may be held in Pakistan by 1992, implying that no one should talk of elections for another 9 or 10 years. When politicians who have gained control of Quaid-e Azam's Muslim League spread feelings of despair in this way among those who hope for democracy, what will be the result? The Muslim League is the party that approved the Pakistan agreement and proved its own mettle by creating Pakistan within 7 years. But the same Muslim League is in such a state today that it can tolerate martial law for 5 1/2 years and its leader tells the people to pray for elections and that if these prayers are answered, elections may be held after 9 or 10 years. The leader of the party that created Pakistan in 7 years now says that one will have to wait a total of 15 years for the restoration of democracy in this same Pakistan.

Sayed Munir Shah, founder of the MRD and the acting chairman of the defunct Tahrik-e Istiqlal, has announced that his party will not accept illegal, immoral, un-Islamic and unconstitutional restrictions and urges the leaders of other parties also to act against these restrictions. His entry into Punjab was banned, but he defied the ban to travel to Lahore and address a Pakistan Day rally there. Earlier, the leaders of the defunct NDP and People's Party had also broken the restrictions. But retired Air Marshal Asghar Khan has not yet broken any restrictions; he has been under house arrest for more than 3 years. An effort was made to put the two leaders of the NDP, Wali Khan and his wife, under house arrest but they issued an ultimatum that they would not obey the restriction, which was finally removed. They came out of their house, and in order to establish contact with the people, went to various gatherings to give speeches. Asghar Khan can do the same thing and so can all those politicians who are under house arrest or whose movements are restricted. They may be observing the martial law restrictions because certain conditions oblige them to do so. They may not want a confrontation and are under the impression that one of these days General Zia will throw them a banquet in the president's mansion in Islamabad, hand over the reins of power to them and leave.

Many leaders of the Jamaat-e Islami have been saying that the MRD is incapable of starting a movement because of internal dissension. If the MRD is unable to do anything to restore democracy, it should be left to its own devices; and the others should take effective action to restore democracy. Responsibility for the restoration of democracy is not confined to the MRD or to a few other parties but is the national duty of every citizen. If Jamaat-e Islami can take any action to achieve this goal, it should do so and cooperate sincerely with those who are trying to restore democracy; but our politicians lack this kind of spirit. When they see their opponents accomplishing a task well, they try to find fault with them.

Some years ago, a horse was entered in one of the races at the Karachi race course and was thought to have a good chance of winning. Before the race, someone told the horse's owner that a certain enemy of his had bet 10,000 rupees on the horse. The owner was greatly incensed; he went up to the jockey and whispered to him to rein in the horse and not try to win the race. The horse lost, but the owner was happy. He told his friends that he had caused his enemy to lose 10,000 rupees. He himself had bet 15,000 rupees on his horse, but he was not concerned about losing his money or disgracing his horse.

Some of our rival parties are like the man in the story. They would harm themselves, their country and their nation in order to inflict injury on their adversaries. Street politics is the result of this way of thinking. As long as democratic tolerance is absent, democracy will be succeeded by martial law every time.

9863

CSO: 4656/148

GHAFOOR AHMAD DISCUSSES JI PRINCIPLES, ZIA REGIME

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 16 Apr 83 pp 9, 12

[Interview with Prof Ghaffor Ahmad, leader of the defunct Jamaat-E Islami [JI], Pakistan, by Zia Shahid: "It Is Not Essential To Join the MRD To Carry Out the Struggle for Democracy;" date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] [Question] The present rulers, following your party's separation from the administration, say that they are doing exactly the same work for which the National Alliance launched a campaign, that is, Islamization. In this regard, the political parties hold the view that since the current administration is not elected by the people, it cannot successfully enforce Islam and that only an elected democratic government is capable of doing so. In response to this objection, the thing that also comes to the forefront is that there should be a practical implementation of Islam, and for this it is not essential to have a Western-style parliamentary democracy. If the work is satisfactory, it makes no difference what type of government there is.

[Answer] In my opinion, our own people are doing more to defame Islam than its enemies. If Islam is an all-inclusive code of life and we all also agree to it, it does not require martial law for its enforcement. But the situation in our country is that the commandments of martial law overpowers every other ordinance, and even if it can be proved in a court that such and such an order of martial law is against Islam under no circumstances will that order be withdrawn. Martial law, therefore, holds the real power and authority and any [martial law] rule or regulation that is against the law or contrary to the Islamic system, cannot be declared null and void. In my opinion, the country's present regime should pursue the work that it promised to do, and if it wishes to take some steps to enforce Islam before it fulfills its promise, it has permission to go ahead with full zeal. Such steps would not lead it astray nor should it ignore its true responsibility, which is to hand over the power, after holding elections, to representatives elected by the people. The current administration has had not one or one and a half years but more than 5 years, and during this time it has had more power than even a democratic government has.

Therefore, its contention that it requires more time for Islamization cannot be accepted. Furthermore, it is not proven anywhere that a military regime is essential for the enforcement of Islam and that Islam can be implemented by force

alone since people are opposed to it. The opposite is true. Pakistan was founded to be an Islamic state and Muslims voted unanimously in its favor. No political party has ever dared to openly announce that it would not enforce Islam and then seek the people's vote. In this context, therefore, to insist on enforcing Islam under the whip of martial law would be synonymous with staining the true ideal of Islam itself throughout the civilized world. In Islam, along with the social changes, an Islamic climate is created through intellectual revolution and not through solitary state orders.

[Question] Another vital issue regarding Islamization is that in view of the recent unpleasant incidents that have unfortunately taken place in certain parts of the country among certain religious sects, one sector among educated circles believes that all this is the result of giving greater importance to religion, a reaction to putting greater emphasis on Islamization. As a consequence of this, it is said, the religious people gained importance and because of their conflicts, they have been swept up, knowingly or unknowingly, in a storm that certainly needs to be controlled. For example, it is being said that if there is a government of the religious people or if they are given greater participation in power and authority, they will come to the top and so will their conflicts. What is your opinion in this regard?

[Answer] In my opinion, there are two reasons for this. The first is that the name of Islam was sounded with great hue and cry, but the blessings of the Islamic system that should have embraced an ordinary person did not reach him. In other words, slogans of Islam were heard, but it had not opportunity to make the practical life of an ordinary person happy and contented, nor could the common man acquire that social justice and equity for which non-Muslims in this age have been happy to embrace Islam and have felt that they had left the ocean of afflictions and entered the heaven of happiness. The second reason is that politically there is now a complete vacuum in the society. In a democratic system, there is polarization between the government and the opposition. This is non-existent in our country or at least was not allowed to persist here. The result was that [political] activity was limited to those sectors or Parties to whom, apparently, political restriction did not apply and which were able to hold meetings and use loudspeakers. The lava of restlessness, anxiety and uncertainty in the society was boiling, ready to shoot out in some direction. It is also a fact that such parties secretly provoked restlessness and anxiety among those other parties that did not have the opportunity to conduct their activities in an open atmosphere and thus could not distinguish themselves as influential political parties. A political party cannot support sectarianism or other activities of this nature, because its true objective is to unite as many people as possible, not to expel them one after the other from its circle. But if the parties are ineffective or if they are deprived of an opportunity to perform, then restlessness and dissatisfaction will certainly take some other means for an outlet, and the path that apparently is camouflaged as religion would appear easier and more practical to follow. Contrary to this, if enforcement of true Islam had not been merely talked about but had been given a solid practicable form, people would have benefitted from its blessings. For instance, instead of doing away with the entire business of interest, we merely opened another window in that very business for depositing amounts without interest. We did similar things in other areas as well. We ourselves are creating dissatisfaction with Islam. The regime has held full power for

6 years, it has time and again sworn by Islam, it has begun every task with the recitation of the Holy Koran and apparently also announced the enforcement of Islam in certain areas. But, due to faulty results, a large segment of the people has been forced to say that they have already seen the slogans of socialism, and now they have seen the slogans of Islam as well, and if this is Islam, it contains no solution to their miseries.

In the beginning, the people did cooperate with the regime. Political parties cooperated with it and those that did not were unable to bring any harm to the administration and were unsuccessful in their confrontation with it. The regime received assistance not only from within the country but from outside as well, even from Muslim countries. If it had proceeded toward the enforcement of Islam who could have stopped it? But isn't it a fact that the ordinary person remains a victim of non-Islamic practices, injustice and plunder as before? Who, then, is responsible for this situation? Our opponents certainly have been given the opportunity to say that Islam has been unsuccessful even though Islam was never properly enforced from the start.

[Question] In this regard, one also hears propaganda to the effect that the administration has included religious scholars on various levels of authority, power and consultation. These scholars have been accommodated in the courts and councils. Paths for entering the official machinery have been opened to those graduating from religious institutions by recognizing them as equal to university graduates. As a result of all these measures, the administration wanted to proceed toward the enforcement of Islam. However, the opponents of Islam make the accusation that all these steps are giving power to the theocracy, i.e., to the mullahs, as a result of which sectarianism is being encouraged and the goals of true justice and fair play appears to be moving farther and farther away.

[Answer] There is no doubt that certain religious people have definitely been catered to, but in my opinion the Pakistani people are certainly well aware of the fact that those ruling the country are a different category. They are the very same people who have ruled before or have become known since martial law. The few religious persons seen at various levels of the government play no role in actual power. The police and the bureaucracy probably never enjoyed so much authority and participation in the government as they do today, because there is no one today to investigate them and no public institution exists in the country that can curtail their power. Therefore, it is utterly wrong to say that this is the regime of the religious people or the "maulvis."

[Question] With regard to the elections, certain official circles say that they are not being held because they expect the corrupt elements of the People's Party government, which they ended by coming into power, to be successful again, something that cannot be tolerated. A reference is also made in this connection to certain individuals and parties included in the National Alliance, that they themselves have demanded that elections not be held for the time being.

[Answer] My view is contrary to this. We think that those belonging to the People's Party hid themselves in their houses and that they lost the people's

support. But the present regime, due to its attitude, gave them a chance to regain strength, brought them back to life and offered the highest ministerial posts to their leaders. It was first said that they should be held accountable for their actions. Then it was said that the People's Party and the National Alliance were the same. Later, everyone in the People's Party who sided with the administration was honored. If the People's Party is seen as a threat today, who made it so? Isn't it possible that this threat was created so that no one would demand elections. Consequently, what punishment was meted out to those in the People's Party who demolished the constitution, brought partial martial law, suppressed freedom and encouraged looting and plundering? What action was taken against them? There is no Bhutto Sahib in the People's Party today. We confronted them when they were equipped with an army, a police, a bureaucracy and the FSF [Federal Security Force], and we gave them a political defeat. If that was not a political defeat, why did not the PPP rulers agree on a dialogue to hold elections again? If they were confident of victory, why did they rig the elections, and if they did not rig the elections, why didn't they agree to new elections?

[Question] From time to time it is heard that political ministries are essential for bringing the administration around to elections. Certain parties also offer such views. Pir Sahib Pagara says openly that for elections there should not only be political ministries but that Muslim League's political government. What is your viewpoint on this?

[Answer] We have already had this experience; therefore we will not be a victim of this deception again. If anyone else wishes to try, we can only pray for him.

[Question] Usually, sectors of the MRD make the accusation against the Jamaat-e Islami that it has secretly collaborated with the military regime, and as a result of this, not only does it enjoy freedom of organization but it can also freely visit the Afghan refugee camps. There are no restrictions imposed on its leaders to travel within and outside Pakistan. Even when the individuals belonging to JI's subsidiary of student organization create disturbances, not much notice is taken, etc., etc.

[Answer] As far as the students belonging to Jamiat are concerned, perhaps they have never faced so many afflictions in any other era as they have now. These students have been convicted in murder cases also, and it is totally false that the administration is lenient with them. As far as the issue of working in the Afghan camps is concerned, does one need a visa to go there? Anyone can go there to work, provided he is eager to do so. If, however, by visiting them an effort is made to support the Babrak Karmal administration, the people will certainly refuse to listen. Why should JI become a target of accusation? People from Muslim and non-Muslim countries also visit the camps and help the oppressed refugees. We are simply helping them as long as they can not return honorably to their homes and establish a government of their own choice.

[Question] In this connection, another objection is also raised, which is that since we do not enjoy a government of our own choice in Pakistan, how can we wish one for others?

[Answer] If, for the time being, we do not enjoy an elected government, does that mean that we should not desire such things for the people of our neighboring Islamic country, where they are being murdered? Their homes are being burned and life is being made miserable for them. If we have not acquired a government of our own choice or we have not yet been successful in this regard, this does not mean that we should abandon the universal concept and the moral principle of a government of the people.

[Question] It is also said that we should not run the risk of Soviet indignation by giving refuge to the Afghan refugees.

[Answer] The fact is that those who fled from their homeland are Muslim, and they are not one hundred or one thousand but hundreds of thousands in number. The Muslims have their own way of thinking. How can we expel our own Muslim brothers? Their host is not the JI, which is a small party, but the Pakistani people. It is the people of those regions that gave refuge to the Afghan refugees, because they share mutual relations and contacts. In those regions, at least, no one listened to any individual or party that opposed or tried to oppose giving shelter to the Afghan refugees. A majority of the nation has agreed to give them refuge in Pakistan. There has been no protest from anywhere, except from the sectors that are pro-Soviet. As far as Soviet resentment is concerned, we respect the Soviet Union as a great neighbor. We wish to enjoy the friendly relations with it. We are grateful to the Soviet Union for helping us with technical know-how and with the steel mills and so forth. But these things do not mean that we should laud all of its actions and deeds. We do not do so for America either. We strongly condemn America's anti-Arab politics. Similarly, we are against the presence of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, though we are not opposed to the Soviet Union in all matters. Even during the phase of the National Alliance, I met with the Soviet ambassador, which raised criticism. It also desires friendly relations with the Soviet Union, but it is not prepared to sacrifice its Islamic identity and fundamental principles.

[Question] Regarding the Jamiat-e Tulaba, another thing that felt and often brought under into argument is its temperament in general. A few years back, the Jamiat was not the type of aggressive force it is now. In other words, it was heard that the students of the Jamiat were attacked somewhere, but they themselves did not attack. It is said that the Jamiat has now become an aggressive force. It has ammunition and it utilizes it. In your opinion, is this a positive or a negative change, and will this kind of aggression be accepted by the party too or, as in its former role, will the party prefer to bear oppression and not to do anything [in retaliation]?

[Answer] I do agree that there is a grievance against the Jamait. But you know it has not been right that the Jamait people are always beaten up, has it? If anyone slapped them on one cheek, they offered the other. Nevertheless, it is not reasonable to expect the youths to remain oppressed forever. They were oppressed for a long time. On certain occasions, the administration, also treated them with undue strictness. Despite this fact, I do agree that even the students were responsible for some wrong-doings; after all, they have young blood. But we try to find other ways and talk to the boys whenever we learn about any of their excesses, and we certainly do talk to them.

[Question] The People's Party, during its reign, acted immoderately. But after being elected in 1970, despite its wrong-doings in the government, in 1977, many people were still supporting it, although it can be claimed that the PPP was not winning with a majority. When the elections were held for the second time, the administrative sectors and certain sources of the National Alliance clearly said that the People's Party was gaining victory. Similar talk is heard even today. If this is a fact, in your opinion why had the majority of the Pakistani people not given upon the People's Party?

[Answer] I do not wish to engage in an argument about whether it would have won or lost or whether it will be successful or not now. I speak from principle. If the people elect the People's Party, I would accept its right to rule. As I said earlier, we are not afraid of the government of the People's Party, but we feel that if the people wish to test it again, they should go ahead and do it. What kind of justice is it that everytime chances of its victory are perceived, the elections are postponed?

[Question] One last question, about President Ziaul Haq. You have met with him numerous times and have been a minister in his administration. Certain people think that he says his prayers, is loyal to Islam and tries to the best of his ability. What is your opinion about him?

[Answer] I would say that as an individual he is certainly a decent man. He does not possess the haughtiness and the arrogance of rulers. He is religious and always talks about Islam. But is that enough? He will have to account in the next world for what he did when he gained control of the government. Did he really enforce Islam as a code of life? Did he extend its blessings to the people? Did he fulfill everyone's needs? Did he eradicate injustice and dishonesty? Did the people suffer from his methods of government? Were the people living under his regime entitled to his goodwill or were they victims of oppression either by him or his administrators? All these things demand an answer, and everyone of us living in this society knows the answers. Perhaps the president is also aware of these answers.

[Question] In view of the good words you have used to describe the president, the Jamaat should help a Muslim and should cooperate with the president to accomplish whatever he wishes to do. You should not sit outside and watch the show, rather you should go inside and lend a hand to him. In such a situation, the Jamaat should offer its cooperation, since at least a Muslim and a religious person is holding the reins of government. Whatever weakens or hinders his work should be removed.

[Answer] We participated in the government when he wanted us to. Now we do not have an offer, nor do we intend to participate.

[Question] If he makes you an offer, will the Jamaat accept it?

[Answer] The question is not one of accepting ministries, rather it is that Islam is not an assemblage of prayers and commandments alone. It has its own political system and a structure of governmental system, too. The question is, how can we tell the entire civilized world that we require the ship of martial law for the enforcement of Islam? For the president to be a Muslim personally is one thing, but to be good or bad in the eyes of Islam and the world for the type of governmental system he is pursuing is something else again.

[Question] But with a little help, your party can also try to appoint the person, about whom you yourself mentioned so many good characteristics, as an elected ruler, so that the criticisms you mentioned can be erased and your party and other sympathetic people can join with him to accomplish the task of enforcing Islam. Many formulas of this kind were presented also. What is your viewpoint in this regard?

[Answer] As far as being an elected ruler instead of a chief martial law administrator is concerned, it will be good news if Ziaul Haq Sahib becomes this. I am not the only one to say this; all political parties say the same. But only if he does so!

[Question] The question is, if he is a candidate, will your party cooperate with him?

[Answer] (laughing) It is possible that we will cooperate with him--but first he must agree to participate in the elections!

[Question] The Jamaat should assure him that if he is a candidate, it will support him. Perhaps he might agree.

[Answer] (with loud laughter) I think that if such an opportunity arises, he will perhaps not "own" the Jamaat but "disown" it, because those he wants to please are always abusing the Jamaat.

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DEFENSE MINISTER URGES BAN ON ANTIDEMOCRATIC PPP CIRCLES

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 4 Apr 83 p 3

[Editorial: "Mr Talpur's Bitter Words Are Justified"]

[Text] Defense Minister Mr Ali Ahmad Talpur insists that those who were guilty of trampling democratic and moral values and of imposing the worst kind of totalitarianism on the country during the previous administration should be banned completely from participation in politics. He made this statement during a conversation with press representatives in Khaipur. He mentioned in particular the former ruling party, the People's Party, which (according to him) did not have the remotest connection with democracy but is trying nowadays to become the champion of democracy. Mr Talpur's statements show a great deal of bitterness; but he feels so deeply on this point that he has said openly that if President Zia allowed the murderers of democracy to participate in politics, he would be committing the greatest mistake of his life. He said, "I shall oppose this strongly."

Mr Talpur is not only a veteran and prominent politician but also enjoys the reputation of being a courageous man who is not motivated by aspirations to office and rank. Although in the December 1970 elections he was elected a member of the former National Assembly on the People's Party ticket, he was outside the country when, a year later, following the tragic division of the country, the People's Party took the reign of power in the remaining part of Pakistan and resorted to "the people's martial law." Mr Talpur made it clear at the time that he would not return until the martial law was ended and a government answerable to the National Assembly was established. He returned to the country only after the transitional constitution was issued in April 1972. Apart from the fact that his relations with the People's Party have been strained for some time, his statement regarding the unconstitutional and totalitarian actions of the People's Party cannot be regarded as opportunism or afterthoughts once the danger is over. Most of those who truly love democracy will find in his bitter words a reflection of their own heartfelt feelings. But the difficulty, or rather the tragedy, is that the investigation that caused the postponement of the November 1977 elections, though it did start, was never completed. In this way, the hands of those who, according to Mr Talpur "were guilty during their term of power of trampling democratic and moral values and of imposing the worst kind of totalitarianism on the country," were strengthened.

Now that the time for investigation is past, what can be done? Anything done now would appear to be too late. But Mr Talpur's outspokenness is in itself not only noteworthy but deserving of praise. He spoke out openly what he considered to be the truth. There are some professed lovers of democracy in this country who, during the totalitarian reign of the People's Party, struggled to achieve democracy and were even personally involved in the struggle; now these same men have become not only the followers of the People's Party but even its dedicated slaves. They are looking to those who created the malady to remedy it as well, and regard as political wisdom the ignorant decision of "testing again the already proved." Mr Talpur's remarks are in reality addressed to President Zia; and it is natural that all eyes should be focused on the president to see what he says and does in answer to the justifiably bitter remarks of one of his senior ministers.

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GHAFUOR CRITICIZES MRD'S DEMOCRACY DRIVE

Karachi DAWN in English 19 May 83 p 9

[Article by Hazoor Ahmed Shah]

[Text]

The MRD was formed "in haste" and so has been its decision to launch a drive for democracy from Aug. 14 this year, Prof Ghafoor Ahmed, Naib Amir of the defunct Jamaat-i-Islami, said in an interview.

Considered as his party's spokesman and a trouble-shooter on the political scene, the ever-smiling Professor became pensive when asked whether the defunct JI would go along if an "offer" was made to it by the MRD leadership to join the proposed drive to "restore democracy."

"The time is past; they (MRD) have missed the bus", Prof Ghafoor commented. They took the decision without considering it necessary to take other parties (outside the MRD) into confidence, he observed.

"It is the defunct PPP which vis-a-vis the MRD is at the core of the problem. The 1977 Movement was launched against the PPP's 'autocratic' Government, but today that party, as the MRD's constituent, is clamouring for the restoration of the 1973 Constitution", he said.

The same Constitution had remained suspended in face of the emergency declared by the the PPP-Government, he recalled.

The PPP should better submit itself before the nation, "seek forgiveness for its past conduct" and pledge to take disciplinary action against those of its members who were involved in "illegal, immoral and unconstitutional practices", Prof Ghafoor observed.

If the defunct PPP "displays such a courage", it could rehabilitate its

position and then hope to get cooperation from the other non-MRD parties, he said.

Otherwise, one could only infer that the MRD (with the PPP as its coalescing partner) was contributing to the retention of autocracy and not the restoration of democracy, the JI leader argued.

Reverting to the MRD's decision, he said time would show whether this decision was "abrupt, causing hurdles in the way of democracy".

Political vacuum

"When a country is confronted with aggression, the defence forces make united efforts to repel it. In the same way, when there is political vacuum, all the parties sink their differences to create conditions for removing that vacuum in the body-politic, he added.

However, there was a rift in the MRD today and it was evident to all, he observed.

Prof Ghafoor recalled that the UDF (United Democratic Front) in 1972 had given a call for a mass struggle, despite the plea by certain parties that without mobilising public opinion the call would become counter-productive.

That was what happened, he said, adding the MRD should take a cue and first set its "own house" in order.

In another context the JI leader said he would like the President to "shelve his new political structure" and, instead, announce on or before Aug. 14 a firm date for polls under the 1973 constitution.

Responsibility, then, would devolve on the political parties to show forbearance to facilitate the holding of general election in a peaceful atmosphere, he said.

In this way, he added, power could be transferred to elected representatives peacefully with the Army retaining its prestige and the people getting a fair chance to exercise their right of franchise.

Prof Ghafoor thought that with the President's clear-cut announcement, a way for dialogue would then be paved for preparing a code of conduct and other preliminaries to ensure "meaningful, peaceful polls."

To him a new political framework was "redundant" in the face of the 1973 Constitution.

When the President, after his take-over in July, 1977, announced that he would hold elections within 90 days, he had in mind the oath he had taken to defend the 1973 Constitution as Chief of the Army Staff, Prof Ghafoor said. "The time has come and the President should no longer deviate from his oath", he added.

Regarding a constitutional role for the Army, he said the 1973 Constitution permitted the armed forces to intervene if the state of affairs within the country got out of control of the civil administration.

It was for the Army to tell the nation what sort of additional role it would like to have for itself, he stated.

He said the country had had Martial Law on several occasions and the Supreme Court had given its judgment on the basis of the Law of Necessity.

To a question about the balancing of powers between the President and the Prime Minister, Prof Ghafoor said that in principle he thought it was for the future National Assembly to decide about it. However, if the Government insisted that the imbalance (between the powers of the two) be removed before the polls, the political parties should agree to it in the larger national interest.

He reminded critics that a note of dissent had been attached as an appendix with the 1973 Constitution in respect of the powers assigned to the Prime Minister, while the President had been "made a dummy."

Asked about the principle of proportional representation, the JI leader said he failed to understand why there was so much apprehension about it. He refuted the notion that the PR would "stultify the rights of the smaller units and give birth to One Unit" since the votes for the Centre and for the provinces would be counted differently.

He, however, said that the PR was not something sacrosanct and this could be talked about in an amicable manner by the political parties.

He ruled out general elections on a non-party basis on the ground that it would be "suicidal" for the country and create "additional political complications."

It was inconceivable that political parties should be debarred from participating in the nationwide polls. Besides, the persons elected on a no-party basis in the absence of party whip would not be discipline-bound and it would therefore, be sheer foolhardiness to place the country "at their mercy", he added.

The JI leader said it was astonishing that the "black laws" relating to preventive detention etc. should form a subject-matter for consideration before the Federal Shariat Court and that the Government side should offer arguments in favour of their continuance. He argued that certain norms were established the world over and to bring them for a review under the "garb" of Islam was "Zulm" on Islam. Besides, it would create misgivings (about Islam) within and outside the country.

Calling for the immediate release of Miss. Benazir Bhutto, Air Marshal (retd) Asghar Khan, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan and others, Prof Ghafoor wondered what could a government achieve if it were "afraid" of a girl.

In Islam, he maintained, the civil and personal liberties were "unquestionable", there was no distinction in law between the ruler and the ruled, and that social justice and equality were its (Islamic) "main ingredients."

Prof Ghafoor said the leaders should be released to enable them to continue their party work within the limits prescribed for or allowed to other parties.

SHOORA COMMITTEE'S TASK ON PROPOSED POLITICAL FRAMEWORK EXAMINED

Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 23 May 83 p 7

[Article by M. A. Mansuri]

[Text]

MOUNTING economic worries and a feeling of uncertainty about the future are leading more and more people to seek solace and relief in prayers. It is not comparable to the active spirit of religious zeal and fervour, which had led the Muslims of early periods to great heights of glory and achievements. It is a sort of passive recourse — an escape from a situation which makes one desperately conscious of one's worries, with no one to look to for help but the almighty Allah. The feeling of helplessness is growing, and, as it always happens in situations like this known concepts of morality and ethics are giving way under the pressure of circumstances. Unlike big cities and towns, Islamabad has no place for healthy entertainment and no means of diversion for the majority which is composed of the middle-rung and low-salaried Government employees and petty businessmen. The well-placed appear to be involved in a mad rush for higher and higher standards of living which cannot be afforded without "fringe benefits" or "other" sources of income.

The run-off-the-mill rumours, have a readier appeal than official statements in such an atmosphere. Few people paid any attention to the Finance Minister's statement at the meeting of the Commerce Ministry Advisory Coouncil, last week, that the economic policies during the past five years had paid very good dividends and that with the launching of the Sixth Five-Year Plan this year, a new chapter in economic development would begin; or to Khwaja Safdar's repeated assertions that the introduction of the promised new political framework would bring the country nearer to democracy. Even reports that the MRD was planning to launch some kind of a movement on Aug 14, or that the lawyers, teachers and students in various towns and cities were still staging demonstrations, failed to excite the kind of public interest they did in the past.

Reports about the murder of a police sub-Inspector somewhere in Sind, explosion in the Sukkur power house, arrests of more people alleged to be working for Al-Zulfikar in Punjab, and of student unrest and growing tension between the locals and the Afghan refugees, in the NWFP, were read with much concern. There were also stories about the ban on Sardar Sherbaz Mazari's entry in the NWFP and similar restrictions on some other politicians.

It was rather pathetic to hear from some of the members of the Special Committee of the Majlis-i-Shoora which was in session here

for over a week to evolve an Islamic political framework for the country that they had been working hard, knowing that there was no assurance of their recommendations being taken seriously. The Committee will meet again three or four days before the Shoora meets to discuss the forthcoming Federal Budget — another exercise without much substance in it from the point of view of public interest.

Anyway, not many people, here seem inclined to believe that any real change will come with the announcement of the promised political framework. The statement that the present Government may continue to be in the saddle for at least a couple of years more carried greater weight with political observers. Still, many theories about the requirements and the possible changes to suit them were afloat.

Many theories

The Chairman of the Shoora's Special Committee, Mr. Fida Mohammad Khan has been keeping tight-lipped about whether the Committee has been given any specific issues to look into or it is required to prepare a comprehensive constitutional framework — A task, one might recall, had taken elected Parliaments in 1956 and 1973, and the Martial Law Government in 1962, a long time to accomplish. At a dinner hosted for him and the members of his Committee, last week, by Mr. Shakir Hussain, Chairman of Islamabad, Citizen's Committee (who runs a large motel and enjoys the reputation of being very well-connected) Mr. Fida Mohammad Khan kept silent when his host and others indirectly broached the subject.

However, Mr. Shakir, in his welcome speech, gave out what he thought could be the best scheme to suit the country's requirements and which, he later claimed, had been presented by him to the Presi-

dent also. His scheme suggests the formation of a "Council of State", with the President as its Chairman and the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition, the Chief Justices of Pakistan and the four provinces, the Chiefs of the three Armed Services and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, as its members. The Committee will oversee the working of the Constitution and the performance of the Government, and intervene whenever a constitutional crisis is in sight.

Mr. Shakir suggests the introduction of a constitutional provision requiring all political parties to act democratically, starting with regular party elections and setting up of wings to do home work on various national problems, and with their leaders and cadres open to public scrutiny, before taking part in politics. He claims that this has been the practice in all established democracies, specially the United States. To resolve the question of provincial autonomy, he recommends that the Senate, with equal number of representatives from all the four provinces, should be given the same powers as those of the Senate in the United States.

For election candidates, he suggests a thorough probe into their "Moral and ethical life" to ensure that they are capable to treating the people's vote as a "sacred trust". For this, he has submitted a 13-page questionnaire which is to be filled by future candidates and later scrutinised by officials at various levels. Mr. Shakir claims that all these changes are possible under the preambles of the past three constitutions which say that sovereignty over the entire universe vests in the Almighty Allah to be exercised by the people of Pakistan as a sacred trust within the limits prescribed by Him, through chosen representatives.

It is difficult to believe that Mr. Shakir is in a position to know what precisely is the thinking in the corridors of power. But his contacts do have some reputation. At least on one occasion, when a visiting dignitary was to be entertained at a civic reception in Islamabad, he was called upon to act as the city's mayor.

However, for the common men here, as it must be in other cities also, there were more pressing problems than the complicated political issues to engage their attention. Prices of various things of common use have registered a sharp increase over the level prevalent last week. Surf has gone up from Rs. 33.50 to Rs. 37 and tea from Rs. 8.80 to Rs. 9.90, even at the officially run utility stores. Onions have gone up from Rs. 10 per 5 kg to Rs. 12, and lemon Rs. 32 per kg. House-wives from educated middle class, who form the majority of the buyers in Juma Bazar, were seen publicly arguing with shopkeepers and criticising those who enjoyed "lavish fringe benefits" and other privileges to shield them against the effects of any price spiral.

They were not wrong in grumbling at least about the prices which are going up virtually unchecked. During the past one week alone, the Government-owned National Book Foundation has raised the prices of its reprints of foreign publications by 30 to 40 per cent. The Federal Cabinet approved a rise of Rs. 1.50 to Rs. 3 in the support prices of cotton and paddy. The State-owned Sind Engineering Company is reported to have asked for permission to raise the ex-factory price of the Suzuki car by at least Rs. 7,000. The private sector seems to be having a run of the field. We saw its power recently, when the manufacturers of drugs and medicines successfully managed to get Government decisions about certain drugs shelved.

APPEAL FOR RELEASE OF JOURNALIST IRSHAD RAO

Karachi AMN in Urdu 3 Apr 83 p 2

[Article by Juma Khan: "British Government Gives Allowance to the Unemployed; Here, Thousands of Government Employees Are Being Laid Off: For What Crime are Irshad Rao's Wife and Innocent Children Being Punished?"]

[Text] At one time, many countries were enslaved by the British, and the British empire was so large that the sun never set on it. Pakistan and India were also enslaved by the British. It is said that the light of knowledge is spreading and men are becoming more intelligent, so that one day all forms of slavery will be abolished. All men will be free and will sing the praises of human greatness. Democracy will reign and human rights will be respected. There will be only five kings left at that time: the British monarch and the four kings on playing cards.

The Britain I am describing does not have an Islamic system. Muslims live there but their numbers are few. They do not demand an Islamic system and regard Britain as a welfare state. If a man loses his job there, the government assumes the responsibility for finding him another. If it fails to do so, it gives the unemployed man an unemployment allowance. It is the government's responsibility to care for the health of the citizens and their medical treatment is free as well. We are Muslims and regard Pakistan as an Islamic republic; but our responsible rulers say that food, clothing and shelter are God's responsibility. No unemployed individual in our country gets an allowance; medical treatment is not free. Well-known doctors are free to fleece their patients and build mansions. The government announces proudly that it has laid off workers in its government and quasi-government offices. More attention is devoted to obtaining new weapons than to creating new opportunities for employment.

According to a news item from Britain, a poor man living alone in a small house was forced to steal and was caught. He was brought to trial and the police proved that he had committed robbery; he also confessed his crime, and expressed contrition. The court sentenced him to 6 months in jail. The man acknowledged that he deserved the sentence and was ready to go to jail. But he said that he had a pet dog which would have no one to look after it while he was in prison and asked the court to save the dog from starvation. The court decided that the man had committed the crime and

deserved punishment but that the dog was innocent and should not be made to suffer. Hence, the man's sentence was suspended since he had expressed contrition over his crime, and he was allowed to go home to care for his dog. This happened in Britain, which is not an Islamic country. What goes on in the Islamic republic of Pakistan? Air Marshal Asghar Khan, Miss Benazir Bhutto, Nawabzadah Nasrullah Khan, former federal minister Shaikh Rashid, Maulana Fazlur Rahman and many other respectable citizens are under house arrest or in jail. Even they do not know what crime they have committed; they have not been brought to trial. No one has any time to pay attention to such problems as what is happening to the wives and children of these men. Are the members of their families able to carry on without them, and what means of livelihood do they have? In this country in which we live, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, where the military government recites the name of Islam night and day, a journalist of international fame, Irshad Rao, is languishing in jail. The military court sentenced him to a year in jail for a certain crime. He served out the term of his sentence, but he was not released and was kept in prison for an additional 3 months and another 3 months after that, and so it goes on. Irshad Rao is ill in jail, he has a nervous malady and is now half-blind. His memory is failing. The society of journalists, political parties, former leaders, Amnesty International and the World Federation of Journalists have all appealed for the release of Irshad Rao, but the appeals have been thrown into the wastepaper basket. Irshad Rao's wife begged that the responsible authorities transfer her husband to a hospital to save his life. A number of prominent citizens were willing to pay for his medical treatment. But those who look upon themselves as gods upon earth paid no attention to her pleas and Irshad Rao is still in jail. He has no means of livelihood; his weekly ALFATAH has been closed down and only God knows how his children are living. Irshad Rao's wife and children are innocent of guilt or crime; they are being punished through no fault of their own.

A non-Islamic British court can suspend a man's sentence for the sake of a dog; but our Muslim rulers are not willing to show mercy to an innocent woman and her children. I know that God strikes the guilty without warning. May God save us all from the injured cry of the innocent.

9863

CSO: 4656/150

MRD-GOVERNMENT LOOMING CONFRONTATION SLATED

Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 83 p 9

[Article by A. T. Chaudhri

[Text]

WITH Aug 14 as their common deadline, both the Martial Law regime and the oppositionists flying the MRD colours are currently engaged in a parallel race against time, which is mutually entangling.

The President stands by his pledge to present the nation with his blueprint of a new political structure based on Islamic tenets, by next Independence anniversary. On the same red-letter day in Pakistan's political calendar, the MRD has vowed to launch a mass movement for democratic restoration. This is not without an element of irony, for the two moves are at once complementary and contradictory. The Government and the MRD are heading in the same direction but taking the course of collision which might match State power with street power.

It is presumably to take the wind out of the sails of the MRD that those at the helm of power have lately taken to one-sided politicking more important, they have also dropped broad hints that the new political system on the anvil would not alter the fundamentals of the 1973 Constitution. This is apparently a major concession to public opinion, but it has failed to assuage the MRD, since the credibility gap between the Government and the opposition has become too wide to be easily bridged.

The MRD seems to be resolved to embark on its "plan of action" with which it has been toying since last December. It has announced with a

flourish of trumpets that on June 10 — when a committee of Majlis-i-Shoora would be grappling with the draft political structure — workers' conventions would be held in the provincial headquarters. On July 5, with the Martial Law regime will stand tiptoe on the threshold of its 7th year in power, a "black day" would be observed all over the country. Following this dress-rehearsal, thousands of volunteers — 65,000 according to one estimate — would take to the streets to court arrest. This is the desperate path the MRD is likely to tread.

Conference table

As the countdown for the Aug 14 deadline has begun, some bold and timely initiative could be taken by the Government as well as the MRD to avert a showdown. But there is no move at the moment to break the deadlock, or edge towards a conference-table for a face-to-face dialogue. The President has lately met some political high priests of the defunct JI and Pagaro League who are outside the MRD fold and who never tire of predicting that before long the Movement it is bound to disintegrate.

Whether the MRD would break from within or gather momentum as it mounts its agitation and whether the Government would succeed in deflating the opposition balloon and riding out the storm brewing in the distance, are issues which belong to the realm of pure speculation. Of greater pertinence is the question whether the contending forces getting ready to collide, when the zero hour strikes, are

aware of the perils attendant upon the path of confrontation — as against negotiation — which cannot but put the country on the lap of chaos and conflict.

The leaders of the MRD cannot be unaware of the fact their heterogeneous alliance is a sort of misalliance, since it has no ideological cement to bind its cracking planks together. Already, the Leftist, Rightist, and Centrist groups in the 8-Party combine have begun to pull apart. They had rallied on one platform, in 1981, on the basis of a four-point plan of which the keynote was the demand for holding a General Election under the 1973 Constitution and "civilianising" the Government. Lately, the original four-point plan has come under the shadow of the 31-point programme. It has irked the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal and PDP (defunct) in particular, and triggered speculation that they might jump over the MRD traces, their recent refutations notwithstanding.

Mini-crisis

As was pointed out in perceptive report in "Dawn", the other day, the Centrist components of the MRD have taken umbrage at the terminology used in the 31-points with regard to the constituent units of the Federation. To be more specific, the provinces have been referred to as "nationalities" and "ethnic and linguistic entities" rather than as administrative units. This nomenclature may be wholly in keeping with the Leftist stance of the NDP and PNP which are dominant in Sarhad and Baluchistan. But the Rightist and Centrist parties with their main power-bases in the Punjab and Sind cannot reconcile to the controversial concept of "nationalities" without alienating their constituencies. No wonder, that has touched off a mini-crisis within the MRD and un-

less it is amicably resolved the mass-agitation plan may turn out to be a damp squib.

The 31 points undoubtedly comprise several commendable features. Apart from upholding the Basic Law of 1973, they seek to eliminate economic inequities, protect Fundamental Rights, liberate the womenfolk, unshackle the Press, reinforce the democratic foundation of Federalism and create a socio-economic system based on the incontrovertible principle: "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work".

Yet, strong dissident elements in the MRD have struck the discordant note that an election manifesto is being imposed on them, though the Movement is not an electoral alliance. Nor is there any "understanding" between the big brother PPP and its "poor relations" on the quota of seats to be allocated in the elected Assemblies of the future. All this may appear to be shadow-boxing, but, the very tug-of-war between the "conservatives" and "progressives" (who might forge a group within MRD's orbit) is indicative of the fact that the MRD is somewhat corroding from within. Unless it puts its house in order it cannot confidently go on the warpath and take on the powers that be.

Those in power also seem to be a little over-confident. They have, it appears, placed excessive reliance on the coercive power of the State apparatus, as the recent spate of arrests clearly shows. It is surprising why other options open to the regime have not so far been tried in a spirit of conciliation.

If the 1973 Constitution, held in abeyance since 1977, is to be retained in deference to the general public consensus, and only the mode of election is to be modified and a new balance struck between the powers of the President and the Prime Minister, why should the

Government hesitate to have recourse to popular consultation? The time is certainly ripe for a round-table between the Government, the top-notchers of defunct Parties and leaders of public opinion to ensure popular acceptability of the new political structure.

The imperative need is to create a climate conducive to the success of a round-table. This would call for the release of the political detenus and relaxation of the long drawn-out ban on political activity. That would help dispel some of the mutual misgivings and suspicions and build some bridges of confidence.

Imperative need

True, the spokesmen of the MRD have, in their recent public pronouncements, taken an obdurate stand on whittling down the authority of the Prime Minister in a parliamentary set-up. They also seem to be dead set against the proposed mechanism of proportional representation which is designed to give a shot in the arm to the minor pro-regime groups and neutralise the major Parties. But an accord can still be reached on all contentious issues through meaningful negotiations and the principle of give-and-take.

Nothing would be more hazardous — now that the quest for a political solution of the Afghan crisis and the prospect of transition from authoritarianism to democratisation (to say nothing of the launching of Sixth Plan) have entered a crucial stage — than to allow the nation to drift into the politics of confrontation. To use a trite phrase, that would be taking one step forward and two steps backwards. The watchword of the Government as well as the MRD should be: negotiation, not confrontation.

PROSPECTS FOR NDP-PNP MERGER TERMED BRIGHT

Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 83 p 14

[Article by Hazoor Ahmed Shah]

[Text]

Talks for the merger of Mir Ghouse Bakhsh Bizenjo's Pakistan National Party (PNP) and Sardar Sherbaz Mazari's National Democratic Party (NDP), which had stalemated last year, have now been revived "with prospects becoming brighter", informed sources said.

On the key point of the quantum of provincial autonomy for the federating units a "broad consensus" is said to have been reached as a result of the negotiations held during the last two months, they added.

Mr. Mazari, who was prevented from presiding over the current meeting of the NDP's National Executive in Peshawar, is reliably understood to have communicated, through an emissary, his views on the question of the NDP-PNP merger. Sources said a "positive development" in this regard is that the question of the rights of smaller units has been included at the NDP's insistence in the MRD's 31-point programme. The PNP has already made it clear it would join

the MRD drive for the restoration of democracy from Aug. 14 next.

The main role as an intermediary in the two parties merger talks has been played by the PNP's Secretary-General Mr. Qaswar Gardezi, who had had meetings with Mr. Mazari in Karachi as well as with Khan Abdul Wali Khan and other NDP leaders of the NWFP in Peshawar. In addition, the PNP chief, Mr. Bizenjo, also had talks with Mr. Mazari, while he had come to Karachi to give evidence in the case of Jam Saqi and others before a special Military Court.

The PNP is bracketed with Dr. Aizaz Nazir's National Progressive Party (NPP) whose views on the question of the PNP-NDP merger will be taken into account.

On the Afghanistan issue the positions of the PNP and NDP, however, differ in the sense that while the PNP recognises the Babrak Karmal regime, the NDP stands for bilateral talks between Pakistan and Afghanistan on the basis of non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

CSO: 4600/652

IMPROVEMENT IN INVESTMENT CLIMATE CLAIMED

Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 83 p 7

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, May 20: Mr. Iqbal Bukhsh Soomro, Federal Minister for Industries, has said policy measures taken by the present Government to improve the investment climate and to reactivate the private sector have yielded positive results.

In an interview with APP here on Thursday, the Industries Minister said that the investment climate had considerably been improved and created an awareness among the local as well as foreign entrepreneurs to undertake industrial projects in the country. He said that overseas Pakistanis business community and the multinational firms were being attracted by the liberal policy of the Government towards foreign investments.

He said that a delegation of private US investors had visited

Pakistan recently and shown interest in as many as 19 industrial projects which they wished to set up jointly with the Pakistani entrepreneurs.

He said he had recently visited United Kingdom where overseas Pakistanis business community expressed desire to contribute in the industrial development of the country.

Mr. Soomro said that of late, Pakistan had started experiencing shortage of infrastructure facilities particularly of gas and electricity. He said that Government was fully alive to the problems of infrastructure and adequate funds to increase their availability were being allocated in the Annual Development Programme. Provincial facilities boards headed by respective chief secretaries have also

been set up so that the question of availability of public utilities is examined at the stage of the sanction of the projects.

Reviewing the progress of investment, he said that an investment of Rs. 46 billion had been approved in private sector in industries during 1977-83.

He said that about 45 per cent of the approved projects were either in operation or nearing completion or in the middle stage of execution. He said "it shows a good achievement."

About the textile industry, he said that recession and other international factors were responsible for impeding the steady growth of this basic industry of the country. He said that the textile was picking up and showing progress.—APP.

CSO: 4600/652

CENTER OF BASIC SCIENCES PLANNED

Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 83 p 10

[Text]

A Centre of basic sciences will be set up by the Federal Government to promote scientific education and research in universities and other institutions of higher education and scientific research, it was officially learnt.

The centre will function under the aegis of the University Grants Commission and be supported by the consortium of organisations like University Grants Commission, Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission, Pakistan Agriculture Research Council, Pakistan Science Foundation and Pakistan Academy of Sciences and others.

The functions of the centre will be to:

(A) Develop potential of the institutions of higher education for production of qualified and trained manpower for institutions engaged in nation-building activities.

(B) Assist in organising inter-university teaching and research in basic sciences.

(C) Strengthen and support existing science programmes in the universities.

(D) Generate funds for improvement of basic science in universities and other institutions and,

(E) Provide for national and international collaboration in the de-

velopment of basic sciences in universities.

It will also provide and establish effective links between basic and applied research in cooperation with research organisations and industry, assist universities in developing teaching and research potential in sciences, devise and conduct training programmes in specialised areas, organise training of laboratory technicians, arrange for the training of manpower for teaching and research in sciences within and outside the country, and institute awards and medals for creative research and outstanding contributions in the field of sciences.

The centre will comprise the following divisions: Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics and Computer Sciences, Economics, Biological Sciences and such other division as may be instituted by the board of governors.

The affairs of the centre will be governed by a board of governors headed by the Chairman, University Grants Commission. Its members will include Chairmen, Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission; Pakistan Agriculture Research Council; and Pakistan Science Foundation.

The board will meet at least twice a year. —APP

CSO: 4600/651

EXPORT OF MANUFACTURED GOODS INCREASES 34 PERCENT

Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 83 p 7

[Text]

Significant headway has been made in pushing up export of manufactured goods in the country, which showed an annual increase of about 34 per cent during the last decade.

According to an analytical study of Pakistan's international trade during the period 1971-72 to 1980-81 the share of manufactured goods in total exports also increased from 30 per cent in the initial years to about 45 per cent at the fag end of decade.

Major manufactured traditional commodity has been indentified as cotton cloth which showed an annual export rise of 22.4 per cent whereas the non-traditional manufactured items showed export rise at the rate of 34.6 per cent every year during the last decade.

Exports of semi-manufactured commodities also increased at an annual rate of 15.4 per cent, but their share in total exports gradually declined from 27.1 per cent in 1971-72 to 11.3 per cent in 1980-81.

Cotton yarn, the main item of semi-manufactured category which is exported, showed an annual increase of 14.8 per cent in value terms, but declined at the rate of 3.3 per cent per year in term of quantity.

As for primary commodities, the study pointed out that they constitute about 41 per cent of total ex-

port, and main commodities are rice and cotton.

The export of these two commodities shows fluctuations which depend on the crop output and local consumption.

The total import of the country has shown an annual rise of 35 per cent during the last decade which is mainly attributed to sharp rise in oil prices. The oil import bill during the decade swelled to more than Rs. 15 million in 1980-81 as against Rs. 256.5 million in 1971-72.

The import of capital goods rose from Rs. 1.48 billion in 1971-72 to Rs. 14.88 billion in 1980-81 registering an annual growth rate of 29.2 per cent.

The main factor responsible for rise in capital goods import in the country is increase in public investment.

Industrial raw material import showed a sharp rise to about Rs. 31 billion in 1980-81 as against only Rs. 1.22 billion 10 years ago. Share of these commodities in total import also increased from 35 per cent in initial years of the decade to 58 per cent at fag end of the decade mainly because of rise in oil prices.

The import of consumer goods increased at an annual rate of about 29 per cent to Rs. 7.77 billion in 1980-81 as against Rs. 795.2 million in 1971-82.—PPI.

PAKISTAN-DPRK FARMING CORPORATION SET UP

Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 23 May 83 p 3

[Text]

Pakistan and Democratic People's Republic of Korea have launched their first ever joint venture to undertake scientific farming of vegetables in Pakistan for export to Middle East. This was disclosed to PPI yesterday by Mr. Tariq Saeed; Vice President of the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce; on his return from Pyongyang after leading a five-member businessmen's delegation to DPR Korea.

The joint venture will be known as "Pakistan-Korea vegetable Farming and Export Corporation limited in which 49 per cent will be owned by Sam-hueng Corporation of DPR Korea and 51 per cent by a group of Pakistani entrepreneurs.

The company will have seven member Board of Directors three from DPR Korea and four from Pakistan with Mr. Tariq Saeed as the Chairman of the Board.

Mr. Tariq Saeed said the company would have an authorised capital seven lakh dollars. The company proposes to undertake scientific farming of various kinds of vegetables in Pakistan and their export to Middle East in a 700-ton refrigerated vessel to be acquired by the company for this purpose.

LETTER OF INTENT

Replying to a question; he said they had already submitted

to the Pakistan Government a preliminary letter of intent but a proper application for the approval of the joint venture would be made to the Government after the feasibility study was available.

The joint venture he said, would be the first to be undertaken after the establishment of the Joint Commission between the two countries during President Zia-ul-Haq's visit to Pyongyang last October. He said it was also the first joint venture by a DPR Korean Corporation in the private sector. Mr. Tariq Saeed said during the delegation's visit they informed that North Korean side had sent the details of 10 projects; agreed at the Joint Commission meeting; to the Pakistan Government. He said now Pakistan side would select parties for these projects.

PAK PRODUCTS EXHIBITION

Mr. Tariq Saeed also disclosed that DPR Korea's Minister for Foreign Trade with whom; he had useful discussions on ways and means to increase the two-way trade had agreed to the holding of a single country exhibition of Pakistani products in his country, later this year or early next year.

Replying to a question he said trade delegation from the DPR Korea was expected to visit Pakistan soon —PPI

MANUFACTURING AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY EMPHASIZED, NOT MERE ASSEMBLING

Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 83 p 9

[Text]

ACCORDING to a Punjab minister, Pakistan has become self-sufficient in the manufacture of modern farm implements. The minister went on to say that various kinds of implements manufactured in the country had been of assistance in bringing about considerable improvement in agriculture, and that the stuff manufactured in Pakistan was not only cheaper but was of a quality almost equal to the imported equivalents. It is, of course, stretching a point to say that the country is completely self-sufficient when it comes to farm implements. The Federal Production Minister, for instance, speaking to agricultural machinery manufacturers last year, had said that important farm machinery such as paddy transplanters, harvesters for sugarcane and threshers for paddy should be manufactured in the country. This was a clear indication that these important mechanical aids were not being manufactured here, and it is doubtful that in the period since then all of these have begun to come off the production lines. However, the Punjab minister may have been right to the extent that there has been a big upsurge of interest in farm mechanisation here in recent years. So far this has been limited to tractors and some basic, and trusted, farm implements. But there is no

denying the fact that if this recent interest is nurtured then there will be rapid increase in agricultural mechanisation in the country in the next few years. The number of tractors being imported, for instance, shot up from 1,847 in 1972-73 to well over 17,000 in the last fiscal year. There has also been a very significant rise in the sales of locally manufactured agricultural implements, although the increase has by no means been as dramatic as that seen in the sale of tractors.

Another important sign of the increasing trend among farmers here to turn to mechanical aids is the interest shown in the setting up of tractor assembly plants in the last few years. A number of them have already gone into operation and are turning out tractors. There is, however, one aspect that creates misgivings about the operations of these assembly plants, and which should receive somewhat more critical attention than has been given to it in the past. All the projects launched so far are, obviously, producing — or intending to produce — tractors of well known foreign manufacturers, and the question which arises is: will these concerns continue to merely import CKD kits and assemble them here or are they also going to go in for manufacture? Official sources would have it that progressive manu-

facture locally is a compulsory requirement, and that to a significant extent, locally manufactured parts are already being incorporated in tractors. A recent announcement inviting the private sector to submit plans for tractor manufacture here categorically stated that "maximum deletion of imported parts/components should be achieved through progressive manufacturing within plant premises as well as by sub-contracting..." There has, however, so far been no indication, at least publicly, of the extent of local manufacture desired nor has any time-limit been set. Early last year, though, the Federal Production Minister had stated that 30 per cent of components in locally assembled tractors were manufactured in the country, and that by June this year this share would increase to 70 per cent, and next year to 85 per cent.

For some reason these arguments, or statements, lack conviction. It will be pertinent to ask the minister whether, since June is almost on us, locally manufactured components make up 70 per cent, or anything near it, of the tractors assembled in the country. In fact, it will be interesting to know what exactly are those parts which are made locally. This is not meant to imply that manufacturers in the country are not capable of producing many of the components which go to make up a tractor: in fact, the correct position is the opposite of this. Industry and expertise here have reached a level

where the country can do without importing many of the items for which we now depend on foreign manufacturers. But for some reason local resources are not tapped. This is exemplified by the motorcycle assembly units which, according to schedule, ought to have been producing a very large proportion of parts within the country by now — a goal which continues to remain elusive. It must be impressed upon the policy-makers that we are on the threshold of a breakthrough in agriculture and, consequently, in farm mechanisation. This has naturally attracted international concerns' eager to sell their products, with many of them offering collaboration in 'manufacturing' when what they are offering is nothing but mere assembly in the country, with perhaps some token manufacture to satisfy official requirements. This must be firmly resisted, whatever the attraction of the terms being offered initially. In tractors as well as in other farm implements the country must go in for self-sufficiency — a goal which, despite the Punjab minister's assertion, has not been reached as yet — but it must be self-sufficiency in terms of complete manufacture. Products must really be manufactured in the country and, in addition, all efforts must be made to avoid the practice of manufacturing under licence from foreign companies. A better alternative is to go in for manufacturing products which are entirely Pakistani designed.

BRIEFS

FURTHER BAN ON MAZARI--Sardar Sher Baz Mazari, President of the defunct National Democratic Party (NDP), was served with an order of the NWFP Government on Friday restraining him for entering that province for another three months. A similar order was served on the Party's Central Information Secretary, Mr. Abid Zuberi, in Karachi yesterday. Mr. Mazari said, he refused to accept the prohibitory order through extensions of which his entry into the NWFP had remained banned for about two years and a quarter. "To restrict the movement of a citizen within the country is a clear violation of his fundamental right, which I will not submit to at any cost," he commented. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 83 p 14]

NDP CENTRAL EXECUTIVE MEETS--Peshawar, 20 May--The Central Working Committee of the defunct NDP met at Walibagh yesterday under the chairmanship of Party's Vice-President Begum Nasim Wali Khan, in the absence of its President, Mr. Sherbaz Mazari, whose entry into NWFP is banned. About 125 members of the party, including members of the Central Executive, from NWFP, Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan, took part in the deliberations which lasted seven hours. Khan Abdul Wali Khan and his father, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, were also present in the meeting. The meeting has been described as successful, and important decisions are understood to have been taken which will be made public by the Party Secretary-General, Haji Ghulam Ahmed Bilour, at a Press conference in Peshawar on Saturday. Member of the executive, who could be contacted, expressed satisfaction over the decisions taken at the meeting. A member from Karachi described the meeting as "very important and a great success." [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 83 p 14]

TRIBAL FEUD AMICABLY RESOLVED--Quetta, 20 May--Marri and Bugti tribes have amicably resolved their two-decade-old tribal feud. The feud took a toll of about 60 lives, and an equal number of tribesmen were seriously injured. Nawab Mohammad Akbar Bugti and Mir Sher Mohammad Marri, jointly addressing a news conference at Bugti House here today, expressed their happiness over the settlement of the dispute. They expressed the hope that the example set by Marri and Bugti tribes would be followed by other tribes also. They offered to mediate in the dispute between other tribes. They said Rs 15,562,000 would be exchanged as blood money and compensation. The week-long ceremony started on May 1 thirtyfive miles from Dera Bugti and about 20 miles from the Kahan city of Marri area. A sum of Rs 11,493,475 was exchanged between the relatives of the two tribes. The remaining amount will be paid later. Mr Sher

Mohammad Marri, who is popularly known as "Gen Sherrof" told newsmen he was trying to bring about rapprochement between Bugti tribes and Jakhrahi tribes and said that seventyfive per cent of his task had been completed, showing positive results. He hoped he would be able to succeed in his mission. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 83 p 5]

WOMEN'S LIBERATION SUGGESTIONS CRITICIZED--Seven Ulema of Karachi, in a joint statement on Friday objected to the recommendation of the Sixth Plan Working group on technical education about the alleged liberation of women from "purdah". They said that such a move was in violation of the Islamic norms. Islam, they pointed out, had given a special status to women and, therefore, they should lead their lives within the prescribed limits. The signatories are: Mufti Ahmadur Rahman, Maulana Salimullah Khan, Maulana Asfadyar Khan, Mufti Wali Hasan Tonki, Maulana Mohammad Zakaria, Maulana Amjad Thanvi and Maulana Asad Thanvi. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 83 p 7]

BIHARIS PUBLISH NEWSPAPER--London, 20 May--To make their voice heard and their pitiable condition known to the world outside, the stranded Pakistanis in Bangladesh have brought out an Urdu newspaper, "Jaras" (gong), which is published from Adamji Nagar, Dhaka. The first issue of "Jaras" was published on May 3. Its editor-in-chief is Mohammad Nasim Khan, chief patron, Stranded Pakistani General Repatriation Committee. It is edited by Mansur Ali. The lead story in the newspaper (marked bulletin No 1) is entitled "They can't wait any longer". It mentions the efforts the Biharis and others are making both in Pakistan and outside to get the stranded Pakistanis in Bangladesh repatriated to Pakistan soon. The 8-page bulletin No 1 gives detailed news and information about "Bihari camps" set up in different parts of Bangladesh. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 83 p 7]

ELIMINATION OF PURDAH OPPOSED--Lahore, 20 May--The Amir of defunct Jamaat-i-Islami, in a Press statement, has expressed strong indignation, over the proposal of a women's working group that Pakistani women should be brought out of Purdah for increasing productivity during 6th Plan period. Jamiat Ittehad-ul-Ulema has also criticised the proposal.--PPI. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 83 p 8]

WALI KHAN CRITICIZES RESTRICTIONS--Peshawar, 18 May--National Democratic Party leader Khan Abdul Wali Khan said here today that the government itself had destroyed the concept of Pakistan by placing various restrictions on the movement of politicians from one province to another. He was addressing newsmen at Peshawar airport, where he had gone, along with officials and workers of his party, to receive NDP leader Sherbaz Mazari. Mazari, however, was sent back to Karachi from the airport by the administration. Wali Khan remarked that when even the demands of democracy were not being met in the country, what could one say about the demands of Islam. Those who gave their blood for the freedom of the country, he said, could never imagine the kind of freedom we have on our hands now. Wali Khan said once when he met former President Yahya Khan in 1970, he told Yahya Khan that even after a long period of 23 years after the establishment of Pakistan, we feel ashamed in demanding basic human rights which we have been denied. Wali Khan said only Jamaat-e Islami's Mian Tufail Mohammad and Muslim League's Pir Pagara could travel from one province to another, no other politician had that freedom. [JANG Correspondent] [Excerpts] [Karachi JANG in Urdu 19 May 83 p 1]

EUROCREDIT FOR PAKISTAN--London, 18 May--Pakistan's major 1983 Eurocredit has been launched for 225 million dollars, with a three-part maturity of up to four years and finer terms than last year's borrowings, banking sources said. Coordinated by Bank America International Ltd and Lloyds Bank International Ltd, the loan is split into a 90 million dollars, two-year tranche, a 75 million three-year tranche and a 60 million four-year portion. Interest rate spreads over London Inter-Bank offered rates for Eurodollars, libor, are 5/8, per cent, 3/4 per cent and one per cent respectively. The country is also paying a flat 3/4 per cent management fee, and banks invited as underwriters must joint all three poritions on a prorated share of the total 225 million on, banking sources said. Last year, Pakistan raised two major international loans, for 225 million and 150 million dollars with maturities, ranging from one to three years, and rising spreads over libor of 1/2 per cent 5/8 per cent and 7/8 per cent.--Reuter. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 19 May 83 p 1]

BENAZIR BHUTTO RELEASE DEMANDED--Faisalabad, 18 May--Eight former MNAs and MPAs of District Toba Tek Singh have demanded immediate release of Miss Benazir Bhutto and have criticised the restrictions imposed on political leaders. In a joint statement, they termed the continuous house arrest of a young, unmarried girl as "unethical and un-Islamic". They have also demanded immediate release of other prominent political leaders like Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan, and Nawabzada Nasrallah Khan. Supporting the M.R.D. announcement for launching a movement for the restoration of fundamental rights, they said people were much depressed by the prevalent conditions and would readily follow the MRD line. The MNAs and MPAs called for the immediate holding of general elections and peaceful transfer of power to the elected representatives. The signatories to the statement include former Punjab Minister Khalid Malik and MNAs Syed Ali Raza Shah, Sardar Ghulam Abbas Gadhi, Chaudhary Abdur Rahman Gami, Javed Khan and MPAs Rai Hafeezullah Khan, Raja Mubarak Khan and Mian Hasan Masood. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 19 May 83 p 3]

RAO JAIL TERM EXTENSION--Mr Minhaj Barna, Chairman, All Pakistan Newspaper Employees Confederation (APNEC) has strongly criticised the action of the Sind Government in extending the detention period of Mr Irshad Rao, Editor of the banned Weekly "Al-Fatah" for another 3 months. In a statement issued in Karachi on Wednesday the APNEC Chairman regretted that Mr Rao who had been in jail for about 29 months including one year of R.I. term should be deprived of his freedom continuously despite the fact that the authorities were aware of his deteriorating health and as a consequence of which he had once again been admitted to Civil Hospital for treatment. The APNEC Chairman also strongly criticised the continuous incarceration of Mr Rasool Baksh Palejo, Editor, weekly "Tehrik", Hyderabad, who had been kept in detention in Lahore for about two and half years without any trial and opportunity to defend himself before a proper court of law. He also appealed to the Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors (CPNE) and All Pakistan Newspaper Society (APNS) to lend their support for the release of both the editors. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 19 May 83 p 9]

COMMERCE, INDUSTRY BODY TO SPLIT--Lahore, 18 May--The institution of Chamber of Commerce and Industry in the country is likely to be bifurcated into two independent organisations to work separately for industry and commerce. For this purpose, modalities are being worked out by experts to give statutory position to the proposed draft. According to official sources, the idea was first initiated by a committee of a working group constituted for the Sixth Five Year Plan. During the course of its working, the committee had interviewed representatives of various trade bodies. The committee was headed by Mr Babar Ali who is supposed to be one of the leading business experts in the country. At present the recommendations of the committee are being studied further by experts in the Planning Commission and as soon as final decision was taken these would be included in the main draft of the Sixth Five Year Plan. However, the Commission had recently received dissenting opinion from the Chambers who had strongly opposed the idea by rejecting the report of the committee. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 19 May 83 p 1]

DISBANDING WOMEN'S DIVISION DEMANDED--Lahore, 22 May--The General Secretary of the defunct Jamaat-i-Islami, Punjab, Choudhry Mahmood Ahmad, while condemning the recommendation of a women's working group, has, in a statement on Sunday, called for disbanding the Women's Division of the Pakistan Government which he termed the "real cause of the malady." He has also called for "immediate ouster from the Government institutions" and "prosecution for subversive activities" of those who have compiled the aforesaid recommendations which he described as "anti-Islam." The Jamaat-i-Islami leader said: "The cornerstone of Islamic system is prevention of obscenity, nudity, and an end to mixed society." He also said that the increase in the number of special seats for women in the Local Bodies was a disastrous step.--PPI. [Text] [Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 23 May 83 p 12]

OPPOSITION TO REFUGEES CRITICIZED--D. I. Khan, 23 May--Maulana Ghulam Haqqani, the provincial chief of defunct Jamaat-i-Islami, has alleged that Abdul Wali Khan and his father Abdul Ghaffar Khan are opposing the Afghan refugees only to please their Russian masters. Talking to newsmen here on Sunday, the Jamaat leader said his party was working for promotion of Islam and service to the humanity, true Islamic system and solidarity of Pakistan.--PPI. [Text] [Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 23 May 83 p 12]

EXAMINATION CENTER VIOLENCE--Cheating and unfair practices at the examination centres have reached a point where the teachers and the invigilation staff have to face threats almost every day and violence at times, education administrators said. Some years ago, they recalled, the administration had resorted to imposing Sec. 144 Cr. P.C. around the examination centres. This brought relief for a while, but the miscreants have been emboldened once again and the security arrangements need to be reviewed and strengthened further, they felt. The latest trend in cheating and unfair practices witnessed this year, is the photo-stat technology. The newest photo-copiers can reduce the printed material to the smallest size, and the examinees, including the girls, have been caught carrying such material into the examination hall on their person. The other and more serious problem was the intrusion by the "outsiders" into examination hall/centre to hand over cheating material to the examinees, they pointed out. It was stated that the overwhelming majority of the schools and colleges, selected to serve as the examination centre by the Board of Intermediate Examination, had proper boundary wall and iron gates. This should make security arrangements easier. [Text] [Karachi MORNING NEWS in English 23 May 83 p 12]

DOCUMENTARY OF ZIA'S TOUR--Karachi, 18 May--A documentary of President Gen. Ziaul Haq's recent visit to Sind will be shown in the cinema houses of the province. This documentary has been prepared by the province's department of information, and yesterday Sind Minister of Health and Information Syed Ahad Yusuf presented a copy of it to President Zia. Zia went on an extensive tour of Sind from Sukkur to Hyderabad in April and addressed several public meetings. The documentary of the tour is 35 minutes long. [Staff Reporter] [Excerpt] [Karachi JANG in Urdu 19 May 83 p 2]

RISE IN EXPORTS REPORTED--Rawalpindi, 18 May--The Federal Export Promotion Board was informed here on Wednesday that Pakistan's exports have registered an increase of 18.7 percent during July-March, 1982-83. The Board which met here under the chairmanship of the President Gen. Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, reviewed the performance of exports during this period and also considered the specific problems of the sports goods, surgical instruments, textiles, hosiery goods, readymade garments and leather glove industries. The major increase in exports was in raw cotton--41.4 per cent; cotton yarn--47.7 percent; and fish and fish preparations--26.5 per cent. In spite of the excessive vulnerability to the fluctuations in the international market during 1982, achievement in the export sector was quite substantial. The encouraging factor about this was that "other items" of the export--mainly manufacturers--performed impressively and their exports had increased by 71.9 per cent. The share of these "other items" had grown from negligible proportions to nearly half of the total exports. This was expressive of the success of Government's efforts at diversifying Pakistan's exports. The Board was informed that Pakistan's "balance of payments had greatly improved and its reserves are expected to register an increase between dollars 200 to 300 million, during the current year. Considering the fact that world trade had declined in 1982, the export performance was very satisfactory. Pakistan was coming out of a serious world depression in a healthy manner. [Excerpt] [Karachi DAWN in English 19 May 83 p 1]

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